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A SURVEY OF EDUCATION IN GHANA, 1751-1962

by

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A Thesis

Submitted to

the Faculty of Graduate Studies

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Education

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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA  
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Survey of Education in Ghana, 1751 - 1962" submitted by LaFern Harker in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Education.



## ABSTRACT

Although great advances have been made in educational scope and opportunity in the last three decades, the former Gold Coast Colony, Ghana, still has problems of tribalism and illiteracy. In her efforts to achieve and maintain her independence, and to strengthen her national unity, Ghana has attacked her problems on a broad front by making improved educational resources available to all the people through many media.

The purpose of this study is to identify and examine the steps in the development of a comprehensive national educational policy. By reference to the power structure and its changing functions and composition, the study shows how educational, sociological, and economic factors affect and are affected by the power structure.

The educational system that has developed has its roots in the missionary efforts of various religious denominations during the nineteenth century. The main purpose of the churches was evangelization, and they used education as a means to this end. As the authority of these missions was undisputed for some time, and as their manifest function was that of producing more professed adherents and ordained church workers, they were successful in their aim. Latent functions of this power structure became evident after a period of time because many of the young people who were attracted to the schools used them not as a source of faith in Christianity but as an escape from tribal





restraint and the arduous labor of subsistence farming. These young people sought power in their own right. The search for power gave rise to intense nationalism.

When the colonial government began its participation in education in collaboration with the missions, its aim, to provide clerks and minor civil servants, was also successful. But the latent function again was that of the development of a strong nationalism on the part of the recipients of the new education and religion.

The rising nationalism that resulted in part from this educational practice culminated in independence being granted in 1957. Once this happened, means had to be provided by those holding political power to continue to hold it. They chose to do this by appealing to the need and desire of the people for education. This was a means of satisfying rising expectations of both the governing and the governed.



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To the External Affairs Department of the Government of Canada I owe my opportunity to live in Ghana and to teach in a secondary school at Cape Coast. Such an experience continues to bring rewards in the form of widened horizons and inter-cultural understanding.

While in Ghana, many friends, fellow teachers, casual acquaintances, and government officials helped me in many ways to see and love the country and the people, to better understand the workings of the schools and their problems, and to feel a real kinship within another culture. In particular, I wish to express my appreciation to the Minister of Education and his Secretary who made available to me many government reports, and to Mr. Assiama Kiseadu and his wife who treated me as a close friend and who tirelessly conducted me about



Ghana and into many places and situations I would not otherwise have been able to penetrate as a "foreigner.!" To the headmaster of Adisadel College, to its bursar, and to its teachers as well as to the student body, I also owe thanks for an enlightening experience and for material for this thesis.

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS-----	iv
LIST OF TABLES-----	vii
INTRODUCTION-----	viii
CHAPTER	
I     HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SCHOOLS -----	1
Church and State in English Education	
Perspective on Colonialism	
Gold Coast Colonial Schools up to 1920	
II     DEVELOPMENTS IN GOLD COAST SCHOOLS	
1920-1957-----	29
III    DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION SINCE	
INDEPENDENCE -----	69
IV    ADISADEL COLLEGE--A CASE IN POINT-----	110
V     SUMMARY AND COMMENT-----	125
BIBLIOGRAPHY-----	136





## LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I	EDUCATION STATISTICS: 1880-1926-----	39
II	DIAGRAMME SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE GOLD COAST-----	44
III	STANDARD VII CERTIFICATE EXAMINATIONS -----	45
IV	ENROLMENT OF SCHOOLS, 1947 -----	46
V	DIAGRAMME SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF CHILD AND SCHOOL POPULATION-----	47
VI	NUMBERS OF STUDENTS IN SCHOOL, DECEMBER, 1951 -----	48
VII	ENROLMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS, 1920-1940.-	54
VIII	SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1948 -----	55
IX	OUTLINE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM -----	59
X	MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC PRIMARY AND MIDDLE SCHOOLS, January, 1962-----	83
XI	PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOLS-----	85
XII	PUBLIC MIDDLE SCHOOLS -----	85
XIII	REGULAR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE: Age Group 6 - 14-----	87
XIV	WASTAGE BETWEEN CLASSES 1 AND 6: 1955-60-----	87
XV	ENROLMENT IN PUBLIC SECONDARY SCHOOLS SINCE 1957 -----	93
XVI	UNIVERSITY EXPANSION -----	106



## INTRODUCTION

Aims and Scope of the Study -- The aims of this study are (a) to survey the changes which have taken place in education in Ghana from the time of the establishment of the first missions in the nineteenth century to 1962 (b) to consider the factors underlying those changes and (c) to evaluate the changes in terms of the problems and possibilities of future educational needs and development.

No effort is made to evaluate or examine the merits or otherwise of beliefs, attitudes, or ideas underlying the external agencies involved in the development of the educational system. The study does not examine nor argue the case of native traditional practices nor beliefs in education nor otherwise.

Reason for Study -- There have been a number of studies of the Gold Coast educational system and of particular aspects of it. However, as far as is known to the author, there has been no study done since independence nor any by a Canadian. This present study is undertaken in the belief that an understanding of the pattern of growth of the educational system will add to the former studies by extending them to contemporary times and problems and by giving a Canadian point of view.

Method of Treatment -- The method employed in this study is





mainly historical. One section of the study (Chapter IV) gives personal observations of how one secondary school functions.

Sources of Data for the Study -- In the conduct of the study, a number of sources of material have been tapped:

1. Library Sources -- The University of Alberta has recently formed a Department of African Studies. As a result, the libraries at this institution have now extensive material on Africa. The city library is also well supplied with source material on Africa. The material is in the form of government and mission reports of various kinds, including historical and geographical studies, surveys of contemporary problems concerning economic development, government and tribalism. Also available are novels, travelogues, current magazines, and newspapers from and about Africa dealing with contemporary problems there. This material was used extensively in the study.

2. Ghana Sources -- The writer had available, while working in Ghana, various government publications, national newspapers and magazines from which to draw material, and the extensive resources of the library of the Legon University.

3. Contact Sources -- Numerous discussions and interviews were conducted with English and Ghanaian officials, friends, and fellow teachers. A number of visits to various kinds of educational institutions supplied needed information on the practical application of the educational process as it was actually carried out in the schools. The teachers of these schools kindly interpreted the application of educational philosophy, facilities, and practices, so that what was observed could be oriented to the reading.



4. Unpublished Sources -- A number of theses on Gold Coast education, written by natives of the country and by missionaries serving in the schools, has been consulted. From these sometimes opposing points of view, understanding has been increased.





## DEFINITION OF TERMS

To avoid confusion or misunderstanding, certain key terms which may be understood differently in different contexts are here defined as they will be used in this study.

Education and schools as used here refer to Western education and formal schools, set curricula, school buildings and gradations of students. No attempt is made here to describe or evaluate the traditional education of the African as practised before the advent of the Europeans. That there was a widespread and effective orientation system for the young is illustrated by the following statement:

Pagan Africa had no schools as we know them, but it had a system of education, which, while for the most part, has been strangely ignored by Western Educators, is by no means despicable. By formal and informal methods, young Africans were trained to take their place in the adult community. The accumulated culture of the past was transmitted to them. Technical training produced craftsmen of no mean order. Awareness of the existence of a Creator, respect for elders, reverence for ancestors--all the elements of the good life, as the African understood it, were inculcated. The aim was to educate the youth to become worthy citizens. As part of education, boys and girls were passed through ceremonies, including instruction and discipline, which marked the end of their childhood and their integration into the tribe.<sup>1</sup>

Aims means the stated and understood goals and objectives to

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<sup>1</sup>"Christian Action in Africa;" Report of the Church Conference on African Affairs held at Otterbein College, Westerville, Ohio, June 19-25, 1942, (New York: African Committee of the Foreign Mission Conference of North America, 1942), p. 37, as quoted by Joseph Eyitayo Adetoro in his Ph. D. dissertation on "Changing Aims and Functions of Nigerian Education, 1842-1962," pp. VIII and IX.



be achieved by the educational system.

Functions refer to the patterns of behaviour resulting from the operation of the aims and objectives. Functions are of two main kinds: manifest functions are those results that are intended and are readily seen; latent functions are the results or side effects that occur but are not planned to occur. These latent functions often are more far reaching and pervasive than are manifest functions; often they are not readily seen or easily evaluated, but rather have long term effects which can sometimes counteract or nullify the manifest function. An example of these two types of function from our own culture is found in our present policy of keeping everyone in school longer. The manifest function of this policy is to guarantee an adequate education and so increase job security for a greater number of persons. Because many of those staying on at school are not academically inclined for nor interested in further learning, one latent function of this policy is that there is produced many apathetic misfits.

Voluntary agencies are those non-government group institutions engaged in education in some form. In Africa they are usually affiliated with some religious denomination.

Native administration refers to local governments guided by British officials but made up of indigenous persons.

Form is roughly analogous to our grade. This term is used in the secondary schools only. Forms 1 through Form 6 (2 years) are the steps through which the students pass, at the end of which they are qualified to enter university.

Secondary schools correspond to our high schools and as such





continue the education of students coming from primary and middle schools. In Ghana the secondary schools are residential schools resembling the Public Schools (private to us) of England and are usually owned and operated by some religious group; for example, Adisadel College was founded by the Anglican Church and until recently was controlled and financed by that sect.



## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF SCHOOLS

#### Church and State in English Tradition

The English educational traditions have had wide influence throughout the countries of the former British Empire. This influence has been, and still is, potent in Ghana, the former Gold Coast colony. To be able to understand the components of this educational tradition and so understand the present educational system of Ghana, it is necessary to examine historically the social, political, and economic developments that gave rise to the uniquely English traditional educational practices at the time these practices were transplanted into the Gold Coast culture of the nineteenth century.

Because the English schools of nineteenth century England were direct descendants of those of early European Christendom, religious influences were basic to their development. To briefly trace these religious influences and the later secularism that impinged upon them will help explain the existence, extent, and aims of the missionary schools as they were instituted in England<sup>1</sup> and then transplanted into Gold Coast colony. The influence of religious concepts and practices is all pervading in a culture, as is made clear by Hans.

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<sup>1</sup>James Mulhern, A History of Education, A Social Interpretation, (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1959). This book, Parts II and III, gives a comprehensive tracing of the European Christian traditions in terms of the social milieu of the times.





It (religion) appeals to the whole man and not just to his intellect. Religion penetrates the emotional depths of human nature; it conditions habitual reactions in daily life and it colors the reasoning ability of the creative mind. Thus the religious tradition . . . becomes one of the characteristic national features which is then perpetuated in education.<sup>2</sup>

Christianity provides a common element of all European civilization and gives to the West a certain unity of outlook and tradition. In early Christian times, there was great hostility to the intellectualism of the Graeco-Roman education and culture because of the heresies that arose from its influence. Later, St. Augustine and other Christian leaders used Greek logic and learning to systematize doctrine, and their interpretations became tests for orthodoxy. A point of contact between the pagan Roman world and Christianity was effected in the fusion with Stoic philosophy which stated that virtue was the highest attainable pleasure. Therefore, conscience became the arbiter of all action; good deeds, charity and sympathy for unfortunates were charged duties. Thus ethics and morality became compelling forces in the Christian ethos. Religion and education, which had political significance in the Roman culture, became divorced from their aesthetic, social, and literary context. For many centuries education took on a religious and moral character to the neglect of the aesthetic, social, and intellectual elements that had been so important in the classical world. This led to the asceticism, expressed in monasticism, that was characteristic of much of the Dark Ages.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Nicholas Hans, Comparative Education, A Study of Educational Factors and Traditions, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd., 1949), p. 85.

<sup>3</sup>Mulhern, p. 129.



When Christianity was brought to Kent by St. Augustine and other missionaries in the sixth century, the first Christian education was introduced. A school was started in conjunction with the Cathedral at Canterbury in order to teach converts the Christian religion and to train native ministers of the Church, for to these missionaries, religion and education were inseparable and were equally the business of the Church.<sup>4</sup> Such education was based on severe discipline in order to bring into subjection the evil physical nature and so gain moral and spiritual power. Thus the all pervasive tradition of discipline came into the schools.

As Christianity and its churches and monasteries spread, the character and form of their attached schools changed. At first the classes were made up of all ages and degrees of ability, but gradually the grammar school of classical Roman type separated out from the chantry schools. These grammar schools gave a general education in the liberal arts, based on Latin grammar and literature. They enjoyed high status because Latin was the universal language of religion, law, and government at that time. After a time, it became the usual practice that entrants to "grammar" schools should already be literate in their native tongue. To supply this literacy, Reading and Writing Schools were set up. These two schools, Grammar and Reading and Writing, are the forerunners of elementary and secondary education as they later developed.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>H. C. Dent, The Educational Systems of England and Wales, (London: University of London Press, 1961), p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 10.





During the Middle Ages the grammar schools became the avenue of opportunity for the sons of yeomen, merchants, and wealthy artisans for they prepared them in the learned and clerical professions for Church or State careers. However, nearly all such schools had "free places" for poor students of ability for

...from the time of Alfred the principle was operative that the State or the Church had the right to the services of the best brains of community and that the whole body of the people, and not merely one particular class, ought to have a common culture and a common outlook.<sup>6</sup>

During the Middle Ages, sons of the nobility didn't patronize grammar schools but were educated at home, mainly in the arts of war and chivalric etiquette. A highly organized apprenticeship system was also operative from the twelfth century, and chantry schools, staffed by priests, gave instruction to novices in singing in the church choir and assisting at church services. These schools were roughly comparable to later technical and vocational schools. "Thus it is evident that English education is like the English political system. Its institutions change and adapt themselves, but maintain their identity from century to century."<sup>7</sup>

Education as given in the schools attached to the cathedrals and monasteries was the only organized education for nearly a thousand years. As the church conducted the only schools, so also its institutions, the only area for teaching, offered the only professional training, had the only libraries for the preservation of learning, and produced the only

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<sup>6</sup>Cyril Norwood, The English Traditions of Education, (London: John Murray, 1929), p. 9.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 8.



scholars. Therefore, its influence pervaded all areas of life through the training, indoctrination, and control of all political and church leaders through the orthodoxy of belief as interpreted by Church doctrine.

In the later Middle Ages, when copying classical manuscripts became common in the monasteries, a more intellectual content was given to the education of clerics. Argument and learning had to be used to refute heresies that became common because of the ideas in these classical manuscripts and because contact with other people through the Crusades and the increase in trade opened up new vistas of thought. Scholasticism developed and became the basis of the universities that began to appear during the twelfth century. Although moral discipline was the aim of education in the early Church, mental discipline in order to conciliate the conflict of reason and authority became the aim of secondary and higher education. Thus was re-introduced the ancient philosophy, but under ecclesiastical control and in the service of the Church.

The Renaissance and the Reformation with the ensuing upheaval in thought patterns and attitudes finally challenged the long domination of education by the Church. The revived philosophy of the ancients had brought a new concern for the human and humane aspects of the individual as a component of society. As a result, a secular, rather than a religious orientation, was increasingly fostered. After the monasteries and their schools were confiscated by Henry VIII in 1534, it became the practice for lay church members and wealthy philanthropists to found and endow schools and colleges. These operated outside the authority of the Church of England even though that organ had been given control





of education. Most of the schools so founded were of the grammar school type and some of them became the well known "great Public Schools" of the English tradition as Eton and Harrow. The curricula of these schools were based on the liberal arts of the old Roman schools, and so the study of Greek, Latin, classical literature, and philosophy, especially Aristotle's, supplied the mental discipline deemed desirable. Also the religious training which was still important, especially as it concerned stern mental and moral discipline, all combined to produce the "Christian gentleman" which product became the aim and function of education.<sup>8</sup>

During the eighteenth century, class lines tended to harden as social change accelerated under the influence of the Industrial Revolution. This was reflected in education which was at this time at a low ebb. A small elite was identified with the conservative Anglican Church and the established schools. The rest of the population was identified with various sects of the nonconformists churches. From this large group, there developed a middle class of rich merchants and traders who wanted political and social recognition. Such recognition could be gained largely through access to established Anglican schools, but this avenue of social mobility was denied to all dissenters. Many of the dissenters, being reformers, set up their own non-sectarian "Dissenting Academies." They spearheaded reforms in social, scientific, and political fields, thus becoming pioneers in the new scientific studies. The academies

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<sup>8</sup>For further discussion of aims and development of education during this period, see: Mulhern, A History of Education; Atkinson and Maleska, The Story of Education; King, World Perspective in Education: Other Schools and Ours; Hans, Comparative Education.



were influential in reforming the content and methods in education, raising the standards in teaching and learning and in reducing the brutality of discipline that had been usual in many schools of the time.

The social disjointedness resulting from the acceleration of the Industrial Revolution raised a clamor for social reforms. One such reform desired was a national educational system so that all children, instead of a few, might have some learning as a means of better managing their lives. Many socialistic writers of the time advocated state-controlled education of a scientific and secular tone, based not on rote-learning but on actual practice in practical situations. A healthy mind in a healthy body to live in a healthy state became the goal of the reformers. They believed this could best be achieved by a secular, national education system which would promote equality and end exploitation of the working class.

In response to the agitation of the reformers, many voluntary, charitable, and benevolent societies were formed. These societies brought pressure on the government for measures to alleviate the deplorable conditions of a large segment of society. These societies also set up various kinds of schools to teach the rudiments of reading and writing to the children of the poor as education was seen as one means of improving living conditions and of making the poorer classes more satisfied with their lot. Gradually reform acts gave more political power to more people who in turn were able to pass legislation to improve educational, social, and economic opportunities. This socialist-humanist movement, linked to the sense of moral responsibility for one's fellow man characteristic of the dissenting sects, brought impressive reforms





and finally a national educational system.

The conflicting elements, the social-humanistic and conservative religious, struggled for control for many years. This struggle is implicit in the kind of educational system that evolved. Mulhern expresses the situation thus:

Political, class, and ecclesiastical prejudice, coupled with vested interests in education long established by church and private interests, thwarted the design of those who saw the need for state support in education.<sup>9</sup>

The reformers struggled with missionary zeal to supply the demand for some rudimentary education in their "ragged" schools. By 1850 there were several thousands of these schools of various kinds. However, these could not begin to still the clamor for more equality of opportunity. Finally the government assumed responsibility for partial support of established schools and the opening of state schools.

In 1870 the Forster Act provided for local school boards and tax levies to support schools. Because elementary education had always been associated with charity, the general public and the vested interests were slow to accept national support and control of education, but by 1902 the two systems of schools--government and voluntary--were amalgamated in such a way as to more nearly meet the changing need and attitudes of ordinary citizens.

Although after 1902 everyone could have a basic education, the old ideals as taught in the public school were recognized as the English tradition in education.

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<sup>9</sup>Mulhern, p. 553.



The Anglican or Episcopalian tradition was the result of the peculiar circumstances of the English Reformation and thus may be considered as the English tradition par excellence. If the typical features of the English-speaking nations of moral responsibility found its best expression in the Puritans, and the love of freedom and fair play in the secular tradition, their aristocratic pride of race and insular tendency toward splendid isolation were represented by the Anglican tradition.<sup>10</sup>

This English tradition--which was to produce the "Christian gentleman"<sup>11</sup>--was the privilege of only a small aristocratic elite, but it was the ideal that all recognized as desirable. This tradition was ingrained in the government officials, all of whom were graduates of the "right" schools. It was exported by example to the British colonies by these officials and taught by the evangelizing zeal of the missionaries in the schools they set up throughout the Empire. The Gold Coast mission schools also aimed to produce a small elite of Christian gentlemen.

#### Perspective on Colonialism

Africa has been viewed for centuries through a web of the myth of darkness and savagery so persuasive that before an understanding of Africa and Africans can be achieved, the myth, and the reality behind it, must be examined in the light of facts now being revealed through the work of social scientists.<sup>12</sup>

The myth--and it is one that will be met with everywhere--is that Africa was "savage." The myth began in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when savages became a philosophical necessity for the emergence of Europe ("missing links" in the 'chain of being') . . . missionaries, probably more than any other single group, kept

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<sup>10</sup>Hans, p. 129.

<sup>11</sup>Norwood, Introduction, pp. 4-20.

<sup>12</sup>Paul Bohannon, Africa and Africans, (Garden City, New York: Natural History Press, 1964).





the myth of savagery alive. The more "savage" a place the greater . . . the rewards. Their undeniable fortitude and the hardships they bore were translated into the image of "savagery" by congregations and mission societies at home, . . . the image they cast before them was of heroes doing battle with cannibalism, lust, and depravity --the forces of darkness.<sup>13</sup>

Bohannon says that Europe has not an African problem so much as that "Africa has a European problem".<sup>14</sup> The empirealism of Europe began in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and from then until very recently European countries pushed into vast areas of the world.

Europeans combined classical and Judaeo-Christian ideas to provide the basis for an emergent morality. Christianity made such demands after the Middle Ages that there was only one thing to do: to push outward in all directions. The rest of the people of the world were hit from outside . . . But Africans adapted and adopted.

After the West expanded and collided with all these people, the new society needed clerks and catechists and laborers in order to carry on business and achieve its purposes. Europeans started teaching people to use shovels and pencils, to figure and to read. When a man learns to read, the door has been opened. People see culture that in a colonial situation they are by definition not allowed to have. They are perfectly capable of practising it, but are not allowed it. In such a situation colonial people become a deprived people. Africans when they were living a tribal life were not a deprived people. Lives of tremendous dignity and valued rewards can be lived away from the trappings of Western civilization. But once the consciousness of those trappings seep into awareness a new day has arrived, and a new struggle must ensue.<sup>15</sup>

The colonial conditions then result in two often opposed ways of looking at the power system and at the world in general: that of the colonizing power and that of the people colonized. These grow naturally and silently out of different cultural viewpoints and goals so that one group reacts to a given situation quite differently than does the other

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 15. (underlining mine)



group. The rulers in the colony see the local situation in terms of categories, problems, and connotations that they learned "at home." The subject group, in turn, view the familiar local scene in words, moral and ethical values, and expected responses that have been unconsciously learned. Sometimes a working compromise can be established by the two groups in economic and political matters, but there is always faulty communication and when things do not work out as expected, there is suspicion of tyranny, stupidity, or lack of good faith by one or both groups. "In a situation such as African colonialism, the power system, as it would be seen by a social scientist, was not what it appeared to anybody on the ground."<sup>16</sup>

In a colonial system, all important decisions in policy and the economy of the colony are made by the ruling power in terms of factors operative "at home" rather than because of conditions in the colony. This way of dealing with problems must result inevitably in either tyranny or paternalism, both equally distasteful. Because the ruler wished to keep the largely unfamiliar situation predictable, a static form of social structure within rigid boundaries resulted. Trade, travel, currency, boundaries, hierarchy of responsible officials, written law, all brought changes that were viewed differently by governor and governed.

Changes were made because the governors and governed saw the problem differently, because the governors had the power to innovate regardless of the views of the governed, and because the misunderstandings could only grow. Nobody was to blame. . . . I deplore the Africans who say that colonial officials were wicked as much as I deplore the colonial officials who claim that Africans are lazy and stupid. Both have failed to see the situation as it is; a janus, guarding the doors and entrances, without any possibility of unifying ideas

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 13.





about what is inside and what is outside the doors.<sup>17</sup>

Ideas are potent precipitants of change. Many ideas were consciously and purposefully introduced by traders, government officials, and missionaries, but there were also many telling ideas introduced that these foreigners did not realize they were presenting. The missionaries encountered the African on a broad social basis, so the impact of the ideas they introduced were probably most dominant.

Missionaries brought not merely religious ideas; they brought economic and political ideas. . . . Administrative officers were of the same faith and culture as the missionaries. There was constant discussion between them. . . . The result was that missionaries very often influenced policy profoundly.<sup>18</sup>

The missionaries had as their main job the spreading of their religions. Their own cultural ethos caused them to see this purpose made possible only after isolating the potential convert from his own "savage" culture and so smashing it for him. This made necessary a second task--that of putting the pieces of the smashed society back together in new patterns. It was the missionaries who taught the Africans to read and write and so supplied the catechists, clerks, traders, and business men, and inevitably the political leaders. The missionaries are often blamed for misunderstanding and destroying the native culture they found, but they were no different in outlook than was everyone else of that day and they did rebuild to replace what was destroyed.

Given the duality of viewpoint, the strong flow of things and ideas between the two cultures, even though communication was incomplete and faulty, and the change in polity and economy, there can only

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 23.



be great concomitant changes in all other aspects of life. The colonizing power, then, to maintain the changed structure must either become tyrannical and deny the colonials access to the new ways, or it must move aside and let equality of opportunity prevail in the colony and hence bring on independence and loss of the colony. "The basis of the polity is attacked by the very ideas and things which are encouraged by missions and schools and by the ordinary intercourse of trade."<sup>19</sup>

This process of the changing status of the colony is to be understood as evolutionary and largely inevitable. As schools are supplied, more and more people with the tools of the ruling power are produced. However, these people must be held in check by being given limited opportunity. These limitations, from the African point of view, are tyrannous, so they must be challenged with more penetration into European culture. There are two ways to do this: to escape into the culture he is being denied or to organize nationalistic movements. In Ghana we see these two movements simultaneously as well as successively: the first generations of educated Africans repudiated their own culture and took over the English model in its entirety although often in an exaggerated or perverted form. However, examples of Africans being more English than the English are not hard to find even now. By the 1920's this process of creating black Englishmen was largely checked when education was revised and systematized and took on the explicit purpose of eventual self-government.<sup>20</sup> Then active national

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>20</sup>H. O. A. McWilliams, The Development of Education in Ghana, (London: Longman, Green, and Co. Ltd., 1959), p. 49.





groups arose, with interest in preserving the best of native culture and adapting the usable and best parts of European culture to form an unique national culture.

In the years since colonization and education began in the Gold Coast, far reaching changes have occurred in world economy, polity, tolerance, and knowledge of the social processes. Now African politicians, students, business men are meeting their counterparts in other cultures and impressing them with their "broad cultural capacities and genuine humaneness."<sup>21</sup> The present African leaders have been educated in a broad sense by their own tribal society and also by the missionaries and in foreign countries. Such an education results in respect for all cultures and traditions and an understanding that just because different people do things in different ways they are not thereby suspect. Can rapid expansion of educational opportunity turn out enough such liberally educated, humane people to keep the African revolution rolling? We also have the social problem of providing a suitably educated man. Can we help each other to a solution? We have much to learn from each other: "And both Africans and Westerners stand a little amazed to find that each is in the presence of an equal."<sup>22</sup>

#### Gold Coast Colonial Schools up to 1920

It is not possible due to limitations of time and space to discuss in detail the growth and development of education during the early years

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<sup>21</sup>Bohannan, p..245.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 249.



in the Gold Coast colony. Rather generalized aims and trends will be noted and both manifest and latent functions will be discussed. A merely quantitative survey of component parts of an educational system can not in itself extract the essence of the institution, but some useful numerical strengths and weaknesses are helpful in showing trends and will be so used. The object in this part of the survey is to give an overview of the educational situation up to 1920 in order to obtain a background knowledge of the later situation, as 1920 marks a change in attitude toward education. While so viewing the colonial situation, the reader is invited to keep in mind the factors previously shown as having been instrumental in the formation of the educational ideal of the English system, and the cultural, social, political, and economic factors that influenced the mind and character of the colonial government officials and the missionaries who transplanted the English tradition in the Gold Coast.

Louise Creighton, a well known missionary in Africa, has said that,

Missions have been in all heathen lands the pioneers of education and industry. The object of their educational work was to gain converts by preparing the ground for the reception of Christian doctrine and to provide a Christian education for their converts and their children, so they might train up from amongst them native teachers and a native ministry and so prepare the way for an independent native Church.<sup>23</sup>

Given this aim of the missionary societies, the attitudes and the prevailing climate of thought in England in the early nineteenth century, it would be reasonable to expect that developments in education

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<sup>23</sup> Louise Creighton, Missions, Their Rise and Development, (London: Williams and Northgate, n.d.), p. 165.





in the Gold Coast closely paralleled those in England. There, an Anglican aristocracy dominated educational institutions whose ideal of education was to produce, through the "public" schools, a Christian gentleman fit to rule by virtue of his schooling in classical studies, which stressed physical, mental, and moral discipline. Whether or not such an education was suitable for the tribal African was not a question which was considered. For all those excluded for social and economic reasons from this intellectual elite, the four "R's"--reading, writing, arithmetic (on the elementary level), and Religion--provided the curriculum, and this was given by voluntary missionaries of various groups. State involvement in education came late and was limited, just as had happened in England.

When the early traders and missionaries came to West Africa, they found a tribal society with no formal education but a highly developed informal system based on the rights and privileges of the individual in a largely egalitarian extended family, an animistic religion, and a depressed economy based on subsistence agriculture. The people at the coast, mainly of the Fanti, Twi, and Ga tribes, were happy, intelligent, and peaceful; they were chiefly concerned with protecting themselves from the more aggressive and warlike Ashantis who lived inland.

The earliest contact of the West Africans with Western education was through the castle forts erected by European slave-trading nations. A number of these contained schools, conducted by the chaplain of the trading company concerned, for the children of the officers and men of the fort--mostly sons by the African women. The Portuguese of the fort at Elmina, erected in 1482, hoped to convert the





natives of the area to the Catholic faith through educating their boys at the fort. Also, several boys were sent to Portugal for further education, but the school did not really take root, and so was abandoned. In 1572, a revival was attempted by four Augustinian missionaries, but when they tried to extend schools to other areas, they were murdered. Other attempts by the French and Dutch later were also unsuccessful and so no Catholic missions were opened until 1880.<sup>24</sup>

When the Dutch drove out the Portuguese in 1737, they also set up schools for mulatto children and sent at least two boys to Leyden University. One of these, Jacobus Capetein, was the first Protestant African priest, but when he returned to Africa to lead his people, he was ostracized by both the Dutch and the Africans and led an unhappy and unfruitful life for five years; then he died at the age of thirty. However, he did translate the Apostle's Creed into Fanti. Other boys sent to Europe proved themselves capable of receiving high academic honors, but they either remained in Europe or, if they returned home, found it impossible to create any lasting effect in either religion or education.

The Danes, established at Christianborg Castle, in Accra, also had a school for mulatto children and sent some of them to Europe for study. One such, Christian Proppen, became interested in the Moravian Church and through this connection, the Moravians became, in 1737, the first Protestant missionaries on the coast. All the missionaries, however, died from fever, and in 1771, the attempt to

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<sup>24</sup>McWilliams, Chapters 1 - 3.



set up missions was abandoned. However, the school at the Castle continued, and the Danish governor, Major de Richelieu, from 1822-1825, took a great interest in it and put it on a more permanent basis by bringing out some Basel missionaries. This step, the first official recognition of education, had a great and lasting effect on the development of education in the country.

While the Danes at Christianborg were starting the governmental stream of the future educational system, the British at Cape Coast were starting the other, that of the missions or voluntary organizations.

In 1751, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel sent Reverend Thompson to Cape Coast Castle. He started a school in the Castle and in 1754 sent three boys to England. Two of the boys died, but in 1765, Philip Quaque, the third, was ordained Catechist and Schoolmaster to the Negroes of the Gold Coast, the first African to be a Church of England minister.<sup>25</sup> He held this position for fifty years during which time he conducted a school at the castle, the enrollment of which varied from none to sixteen children. The Society did not keep in touch with Thompson, nor even pay his salary always, so his work was greatly hampered. There was little local support for the school until 1821. At that time the British government took over control from the Company of Merchants, and became politically responsible for the colony. Then the school was revived and renamed the Colonial School.

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<sup>25</sup>C. P. Groves, The Planting of Christianity in Africa, 4 Vols., (Place of publication not stated: Lutterworth, publication date not given), Vol. I, pp. 173-175.







This Colonial School at Cape Coast, whose enrollment soon rose to 200, produced the first generation of English-educated Africans. These men had an influence on the country quite out of proportion to their number. One of this group, George Blankson, became the African member of the first Legislative Council in 1861. Descendants from others of this group became leaders of the Fanti Confederation, formed in 1867, which was the first movement for self-government combining African and British ideas. Another member of this group started a Christian study group. He sent an appeal to England for Bibles which was answered by the Wesleyan Missionary Society, who sent the Bibles and also a missionary to the coast in 1835. This man soon died of fever as did several others sent out, but in 1838, Thomas Birch Freeman arrived to spend fifty-two years in outstanding missionary service. The first missionaries had accomplished a great deal before their early deaths, so Freeman found several Methodist communities already established. These he consolidated and opened others, not only along the coast, but also in Ashanti territory at Kumasi. The movement received moral and financial support from the governor and grew rapidly. By 1880, the Wesleyan Mission had eighty-three schools with over 3,000 pupils enrolled.<sup>26</sup> It was in one of these schools that one of Africa's most illustrious educators, Kwegyir Aggrey, was educated.<sup>27</sup>

The Basel Mission, later Presbyterian and mainly German,

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<sup>26</sup> These and subsequent statistics for the nineteenth century are taken from Part II of 'Report of Educationists' Committee, 1920.

<sup>27</sup> McWilliams, p. 18.



with headquarters in Switzerland, sent out four missionaries to Accra in 1828. These and others soon died, but through great effort the missions were established in the eastern section, at Akropong, and later extended steadily in this area. The mission's first boys' school was opened in 1843, to be followed by a girls' school in 1847. By 1880, the mission had forty-five schools with an enrolment of 1,200 pupils. The Basel Mission based their education system on training teachers, educating girls as well as boys, and giving practical as well as academic studies. These principles seem obvious enough now, but for over half a century, the Basel Mission was the only educational body in the Gold Coast, or elsewhere, that recognized them and succeeded in putting them into practice.

These and other mission schools had a lasting effect on the development of the country. The medium of instruction was English. As the aim of the schools was to evangelize first and then to provide merchants, officials, clerks, teachers for the government and the missions, no one made any effort to learn, or instruct in, the native languages. It was forty years before any attempt was made to translate the Bible, or other books, into the vernaculars. Not only the English language, but the customs, societies, dress, music, names, and ways of thought of England were transplanted into the Gold Coast without any adaptation, so there was produced an "English Kingdom of God."<sup>28</sup>

It was not until the end of the nineteenth century that some reaction set in and a weak nationalistic movement was started to model the education, and so the nation, on a more local tradition while at the same

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<sup>28</sup>McWilliams, p. 21.





time retain British connections. However, this movement was unsuccessful in doing very much to Africanize the curriculum, as the demands of the examining bodies in England must be met if the desired European academic and professional qualifications were to be attained. It was not until 1903 that the Gold Coast was able to set up its own Primary School Leaving Certificate examination. Although the Basel and Bremen missions early translated works into the native Ga, Ewe, and Twi languages, which gave instruction in religion, child welfare, agriculture, sanitation, the Africans at that stage, were not interested, any more than were the English, in maintaining a native culture.

All the missions aimed at establishing Christian communities isolated from pagan influences. Since the mission schools provided the only education available, this practice tended to produce two African societies--the literates separated from the rest of the community. Also, in spite of the professed interest of the Europeans in the brotherhood of man, they did not want to be identified closely with the Africans, and so held themselves isolated in their own compounds from the native community and even from the literates. This produced a distinct layering of society which has continued to persist. The traditional tribal forms of training for citizenship were considered to be "bulwarks of Satan"<sup>29</sup> and so school children were trained to be citizens of minority Christian communities which were of diverse kinds. The literate African was isolated from his tribal community and from his Christian teachers. The unfortunate effects of this divisive conditioning is basic to political, social, and psychological

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 24.





problems of the Africans, even to the present time.

By 1881, considerable progress in education had been made. The colonial government had established two schools in Accra and had taken over the first Anglican school in Cape Coast. The Basel and Bremen Missions had fifty-one schools, the Methodists eighty-four, the Roman Catholics one. The Basel Mission had from 1848, a seminary for the training of teacher-catechists; trade schools in which carpentry, iron-work, tailoring, were taught; hospitals and clinics to train midwives; and agricultural training in food crops had been introduced.

In 1881, the Colonial Government spent 900 pounds on its three schools and paid 425 pounds to the missions to help defray expenses of their schools. This was the first grants-in-aid paid to the voluntary groups in Africa, although such help had been given in England in 1833 when 20,000 pounds were distributed to the various voluntary groups engaged in education.

In 1882, the first Education Ordinance was passed, designed to promote education generally, and to deal with standardizing the various kinds and methods, of education carried on by the missions. This ordinance set up a Board of Education to lay down conditions for opening new schools, make grants, and award certificates to teachers. Grants were awarded on the "payment-by-results," method really the ability of the children to pass examinations, which had been abandoned as unsatisfactory seven years previously in England. By this ordinance also, an Inspector of Schools was appointed. From the reports of this officer, new regulations were made in the Ordinance of 1887. One change it



effected was, that instead of payment-by-results, grants were awarded on efficiency, as evident in management, staffing, and general ability of the schools.

In 1890, a Director of Education for the Gold Coast was appointed. This marked the beginning of the Education Department which looked after education in the entire country. This Education Department continued to operate until it was absorbed into the Ministry of Education in 1956. In 1890 there were 5,076 pupils in all of the schools--government and assisted mission schools--1,037 of these pupils were girls.

The Ashanti nation was defeated in 1900, after which date the British government took over jurisdiction of the entire area including the Colony along the Coast, Ashanti in the central area, the Volta area in the east, and the Northern Territories in the north. From that time on more standardized and better distributed education became increasingly possible.

The Catholic Missions, under the White Fathers, set up schools in the Northern Territories, which had been untouched by any of the missions thus far. The Methodist and Catholic Missions set up training colleges for teachers, as did the government, who also started a technical school, and four junior trade schools. These were later reorganized into boarding schools at the Middle School level.

There were few secondary schools yet, and those that had been established were boarding schools. The Methodists started, in 1876, what later was known as Mfantshipim School at Cape Coast, still one of the better known schools in West Africa. The Anglicans started St. Nicholas Grammar School at Cape Coast also. This was soon made into a residential school and renamed Adisadel College. The Accra Academy and the Presbyterian Secondary School were also started soon after 1900







and developed quickly. These were all boarding schools of the English "public school" tradition for the training of an intellectual elite in literary studies.<sup>30</sup>

In the mission schools, especially among the Methodists, church and school were worked as one entity, as shown by the native term for Christian--sukul-fo--which literally meant "people of the school." The Bible was used as the core of the limited curriculum as it was considered to be ". . . the foundation of eternal health and all true progress. Without the Bible we could not permanently elevate the character. . . . All character is founded on the teachings of the Bible."<sup>31</sup> The dominant idea of education was seen as being the gradual development of moral character through Bible study which was made possible by literacy.

The mission schools were mainly concerned with education on the primary level even up to the twentieth century, so that reading, writing, and arithmetic were the main subjects, besides religion, that were taught. As the teaching was done in English, which the children didn't understand, and as few books, besides the Bible were available, memorization was the method used in learning. Beyond the three R's, classical literary studies were sometimes given in the better schools, and in the few secondary schools. This impractical education was open to criticism by the local tribal authorities. As early as 1843, there was the criticism that:

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>31</sup>Harry Belshaw, Religious Education in the Gold Coast, (International Review of Missions, Vol. 34, 1945), p. 269.



There is no employment for educated boys except as teachers in schools, and clerks in government and mercantile establishments, and hence the results of education, pleasing as they may be, are not so healthy, vigorous, or permanent as they would be if they were associated with various branches of useful mechanical knowledge.<sup>32</sup>

The controversy as to what should be the content of curricula has continued since that time just as it has in England and elsewhere. Because the Africans judged that the economic power and the prestige of the English colonial officers were due to his literary education, education for them had a "symbolic value,"<sup>33</sup> and so even when trades and technical training were instituted, they had no more appeal for the African, than they had for the Englishman. Even Aggrey, who was the chief proponent of practical education in Africa, in 1920 took even more Latin and Greek when he went to the United States to study.<sup>34</sup> The result has been that these people have been educated to be black Englishmen, but they have never been given recognition on a par with white Englishmen, and so in a way the educated African was disinherited by both cultures --his own and the English one he was taught.

The manifest function of the early education effort, that of evangelizing and that of providing church and government employees was largely successful and evident. The latent functions were less recognizable at the time to those on the scene. Some of these are very potent and far reaching and can only now be recognized and evaluated.

<sup>32</sup>W. E. Ward, A Short History of the Gold Coast, (New York: Longman's, Green, and Co., 1945), p. 194.

<sup>33</sup>Ralph H. Turner, "Sponsored and Contest Mobility and the School System," American Sociological Review, Vol. XXXV (1960), No. 5, p. 43.

<sup>34</sup>McWilliams, p. 39.





The layering of society, the repudiation by the African of his own culture because of a misunderstanding of the source of power and prestige of the colonial officials, the isolation of the Christian African, have been briefly mentioned. Another less evident result of the mission education is dealt with by Wilson, himself a government and education official for many years.<sup>35</sup>

The British developed a system of Indirect Rule to govern their colonies.

In theory, British colonial, political, and administrative officers were in nature of advisers to native rulers who were to retain power but were to put into effect the advice of the administrative officers . . . native authority, it was assumed, would learn better government.<sup>36</sup>

It is not possible here to discuss the pros and cons of this system as it concerned paternalism and balance in government. Further information re Indirect Rule can be found in Cooper.<sup>37</sup> What concerns us here is how the chiefs under this system chose those to go to the mission schools. The colonial government, interested in having educated local native administrators, encouraged the chiefs to send male members of the tribe, those likely to succeed to chiefly authority, to the mission schools, and they even set up separate schools for these princes. However, the chiefs, the conservative upholders of native mores and the status quo, had great suspicion of the new religion and culture. To keep in the good

<sup>35</sup> John Wilson, Education and Changing West African Culture, (Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York: 1963.)

<sup>36</sup> Sir F. D. Lugard, The Dual Mandate in British West Africa, Blackwood, Edinburgh, 1922.

<sup>37</sup> Harold Cooper, Political Preparedness for Self-Government, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 306, pp. 71-77, July, 1956, as quoted by Wilson.





graces of the British officials, they did send boys to school, but these boys were those that were slaves in the chiefs' households, and so were considered as insignificant. Thus not the upper class but the lowest class in the tribal structure received the prestige education. This also happened in other than the chiefly households. The Christian missions were a harbor of safety for the disinherited, the halt, the lame, the incompetent, the rejected of the whole society, just as Christianity had been even in earliest times. Thus ironically, although Indirect Rule aimed at supporting native authority through the chiefs, the education given to the lower classes undermined this chieftancy. The result was the reversal of the classes through education. This latent function of the education received in the early years is the basis of the ensuing struggle for power between the chiefs and the elected government during the struggle for independence and even today the issue is not clearly settled.

To sum up the education situation up to 1920:

1. Mission schools, elementary and evangelistic, were widely spread throughout the Gold Coast. Mainly sectioned as to sect they were: Methodist in the south and west, Presbyterian in the east, Catholic in the north.
2. Due to lack of teaching in the native languages, inadequate facilities and books, and little relation between the competing cultures, the children had little understanding of the concepts taught. This resulted in a shallow veneer of learning and of Christian dogma because of the prevalence of rote learning.
3. As Christianity had most appeal to the disinherited of a culture,



the lower classes accepted and were accepted by the churches and so were the recipients of the early education. The upper classes were still receiving the traditional native methods of preparing the young for taking its place in the society.

4. Education and Christianity were linked in the African mind. Their value to them was a symbol of prestige per se. The result was a lack of suitability of curriculum and a repudiation of native culture.
5. Government involvement was late and insufficient as to financial support. This slowed up the spreading of education and caused an imbalance in its distribution.
6. After the initial suspicion of missions, the people set up a clamor for education which resulted in an over supply of inadequately trained government clerks and other lower status employees.





## CHAPTER II

### DEVELOPMENTS IN GOLD COAST SCHOOLS 1920-1957

The period after the First World War saw significant activity in education in the Gold Coast Colony. Indirect Rule, as already mentioned, established local governments, generally known as Native Authorities, to whom a varying degree of authority and responsibility was given. These Native Authorities operated under and with the Colonial Government, and so provided a means by which education could be developed. The post-war period also saw great changes in the church and voluntary agencies and their functions. The various religious sects had seen early the necessity of closer co-operation with each other, not only in religion, but in education and social work also. The different denominations organized into the Protestant Missionary Societies and presented a program of development for the schools to the British Government. The U. S. A., because of its experience with and interest in Negro education, co-operated in the Phelps-Stokes Commission<sup>1</sup> which studied existing conditions in Africa and made suggestions for the improvement and development of education there.<sup>2</sup> The Commission included American and British educationists

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jesse Jones (ed.), Education in Africa, (New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1922).

<sup>2</sup> R. J. Mason, British Education in Africa, (London: Oxford University Press, 1959).



and officials as well as the outstanding African educationist, Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey.<sup>3</sup>

As a result of the work of these agencies and interest from other areas, the British government took a decisive step toward furthering education in Africa.

In 1923 the British Government established the Advisory Committee on Native Education in Tropical Africa, which later became the Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies. This Committee became the principal agent for the formation of educational policy in the British colonies. Besides its official members, it has included in its membership representatives of the Voluntary Agencies and of the British Universities and distinguished educationists from all kinds of schools in the United Kingdom. It has been assisted, too, by the experience and advice of the Local Education Authorities and the National Union of Teachers of Britain.<sup>4</sup>

It is worth noting from the above, that no representation on this body was given to any African or to any Native Authorities Organization.

Acting upon the suggestions from the Advisory Committee, the British Government in 1925 issued a White Paper on Educational Policy in Tropical Africa which became the basis of policy for many years and still gives guidance. Among other matters dealt with by this White Paper, it established the Colonial Education Service to prepare educationists to work in Africa. The White Paper also:

. . . accepted, welcomed, and promised to encourage the educational work of Voluntary Agencies. . . . It stated that co-operation between government and other educational agencies could best be achieved by setting up . . . an advisory Board of Education, the members of which would be drawn from the principal agencies concerned with education. It agreed that aided schools should be regarded as filling a place in the scheme of education as important

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<sup>3</sup>Aggrey's work on the Phelps-Stokes Commission is dealt with in Part III of E. W. Smith's Aggrey in Africa.

<sup>4</sup>Mason, p. 40.





as the schools conducted by the government itself. A thorough system of inspection and supervision was essential to ensure that educational standards were maintained . . . envisaged was a system of schools which . . . would include elementary education for boys and girls, intermediate or secondary education with grammar schools, technical or vocational schools, and higher colleges that would in time develop into universities. . . . It emphasized that religious teaching and moral training were indispensable to the formation of the character of the individual, both as a person and a citizen . . . confirmed and made official and general the British belief in the value of Voluntary Agencies and a religious basis for education. . . .<sup>5</sup>

In 1919, Guggisberg was appointed Governor of Gold Coast. His enlightened attitude toward and concept of education were to have far-reaching effects. As soon as he took office he made his stand clear in the following statement:

We want to give all Africans the opportunity of both moral and material progress, by opening for them the benefits and delights that come from literature, and by equipping them with the knowledge necessary to success in their occupations, no matter how humble. We want to give to those who wish it an opportunity of becoming leaders of their countrymen in thought, industries, and professions . . . our aim must not be to denationalize them, but to graft skilfully on to the national characteristics the best attributes of modern civilization. For without preserving his national characteristics and his sympathy and touch with the great illiterate mass of his own people, no man can become a leader in progress.<sup>6</sup>

Guggisberg set up his own investigating committee, the Educationists Committee of 1920, on which for the first time Africa was represented. Also the Scottish (which had taken over from the Germans after the war), Wesleyan, and Anglican Missions were represented. This committee made fifty-two recommendations, many of which were put into effect. Three of the most important of these were that: (a) English

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid. , p. 42.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. , p. 48, as quoted by him from Guggisberg: The Gold Coast -- A Review of the Events of 1920-26, paragraph 199.



be treated as a subject of instruction but elementary teaching be done in the vernacular; (b) more and better training and greatly improved conditions of service be provided for teachers; (c) the secondary boarding school for boys be established at Achimota. These recommendations, added to the criticisms of the Phelps-Stokes Commission that the curriculum was too bookish and the schools were out of touch with the life of the community, seemed to portend widespread changes in the whole educational system.

It is evident from the foregoing remarks that there was a lively concern about the needs of the African and the value and use of education in supplying these needs. However, advisory committees were only advisory; recommendations for improvements had to wait upon financial support to put them into practice; and a wide gap existed between the recognition of educational needs and their acceptance by the government and/or the people generally. Nevertheless some notable progress was made in many areas. This progress can best be considered under relevant headings to give a more detailed picture of conditions of the period from 1920-52. To make comparisons of this period with later periods, the same form will be used in succeeding sections also.

## Areas of Development

Administration. -- Up to 1882 education was entirely in the hands of the denominational mission schools, each of which pursued its own policy of administration, finance, and curriculum. Most of these schools, after 1882, received grants from public funds if they reached the standard required by the official inspector sent out by the newly





organized board of education. This body co-ordinated and supervised the educational efforts of all agencies in an effort to keep educational standards adequate. In 1925 the new educational ordinance called for higher educational standards if the school concerned were to remain on the assisted list. It also recommended the establishment by the government of a model institution at Achimoto. This school was built but in 1930 the government made it an autonomous institution and henceforth it operated under its own council.<sup>7</sup> It continued, however, to receive a government grant to assist in the operational expenses. This policy of autonomy for institutions of higher learning was continued for the University College of Legon opened in 1948 and later when the Technical College at Kumasi started operation.

There were three main types of schools: (a) government schools --operated and financed only by the administration; (b) assisted schools--mission schools receiving grants-in-aid and being subjected to some government supervision; and (c) non-assisted schools--either "bush" schools or private enterprises outside government jurisdiction. In 1938, it was estimated, there were some 905 schools of all types serving an estimated fifteen per cent of the school population of the colony.<sup>8</sup> How many of these were native "bush" schools is not known.

After 1938, in order to speed development and distribution of education, the schools set up and run by the local administration were increased and assisted.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> F. M. Bourret, The Gold Coast, A Survey of the Gold Coast and British Togoland; 1919-1946. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1949), p. 136.

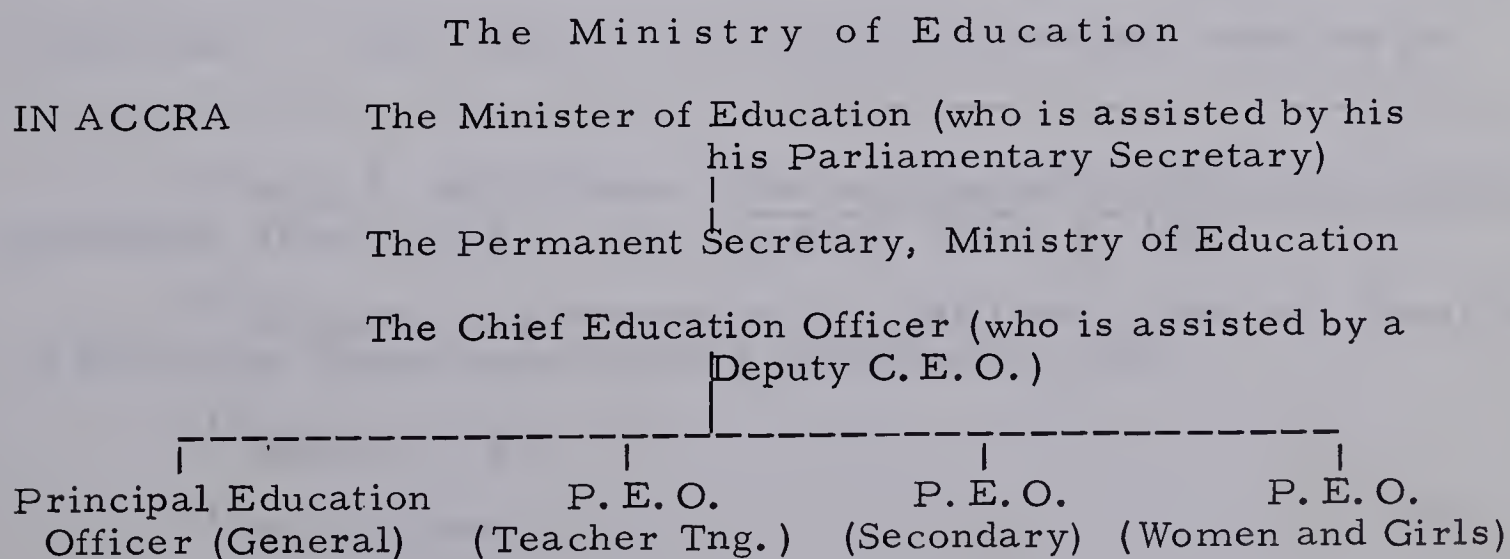
<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 138.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 139.



In 1923, the British government had established the Advisory Council for the Colonies as well as one for each colony. This body, made up of all the agencies concerned with education, advised in the drawing up of ordinances regulating the form and nature of co-operation between the government and voluntary agencies, establishment and management of schools, employment and training of teachers, drawing up of syllabuses, and other pertinent matters.

When more secondary schools were established, usually under the auspices of religious groups, these schools were administered by a local council or a board of governors appointed from among outstanding citizens and church members. These schools were required to meet certain conditions as set up by the Education Minister, which was inaugurated in 1951. At that time, the top administration was composed of: the Minister of Education, assisted by his Parliamentary Secretary, a Permanent Secretary and a Chief Education Officer, who in turn was assisted by a deputy. There was also a Chief Education Officer under whom four Principal Education Officers operated to share responsibility for General, Teacher Training, Secondary, and Women and Girls' Divisions. (See the following diagramme.)







IN EACH REGION there is a Regional Education Officer, who is responsible to the Chief Education Officer for Primary and Middle Schools in his Region. Under the Regional Education Officer are the District Education Officers and their staffs, including Education Officers and Assistant Education Officers.

IN SALTPOND there is a Principal Education Officer (Primary) who co-ordinates the preparation of syllabuses and other material for Primary and Middle Schools. The Ghana Teachers' Journal is also edited here.<sup>10</sup>

In 1952, provision was made for one hundred new assistant Education Officers, each to be in charge of about thirty schools. These officers advised generally and gave in-service training to pupil teachers.<sup>11</sup>

Finances. -- It had always been the colonial policy of the British government that the colony itself should pay for its development. Guggisberg found fault with this system in the following statement:

A colony had to finance its development, however urgently required, out of its revenue. The policy was a misguided one; it put the cart before the horse, for the amount of a colony's revenue depends entirely on the development of its natural resources.<sup>12</sup>

A grant was given from the British Treasury to those colonies not able to meet essential recurrent expenditure, but it was very meagre, not just because of financial limitations, but because the climate of opinion of the nineteenth century did not subscribe to government subsidies. "The idea that governments should satisfy the wants and needs of the people is a recent one."<sup>13</sup> Also recent is the view that educational costs are an

<sup>10</sup> H. D. A. McWilliams, The Development of Education in Ghana, (Longman, Green and Co., Ltd., London, 1959), p. 103.

<sup>11</sup> "Progress in Education on the Gold Coast," (Accra: Department of Education, Government Printing Department, 1952).

<sup>12</sup> Mason, p. 50.

<sup>13</sup> McWilliams, p. 6.



investment in the economic, social and politican progress of a country. Therefore, how to finance education in the Gold Coast, as elsewhere, has been a vexing problem through the years.

School buildings were often provided by community voluntary labor, using readily available native materials of mud and brush for the traditional wattel structures. Even now this type of material and labor is often used for primary schools. To provide these schools with adequate materials and books was financially difficult even when the building had been provided by the community effort.

Teachers' salaries were always low, so this expense was relatively easy to meet. To provide facilities for training teachers and to give them salaries commensurate with what they could earn in other ways so as to retain them in teaching was quite a different matter.

True to English ways of thought, missions were considered to be the body responsible for education. Often, too, missions had more money to provide some education than did the early Colonial Government. The crusading zeal of the early voluntary and charity societies relaxed somewhat as time went on, but the money contributed to them by their members in England, who were zealous to convert the heathen, was often equal to the revenue of the entire colony, the only money available to the Colonial Government. As mentioned previously, the British government had helped defray expenses of the expanded schools of these voluntary agencies in England, and so they later also expanded this grant-in-aid system in Gold Coast when the demand for education was increased. To curtail the amounts required to do this, a system of payment by results--or the ability to pass examinations largely by memorizing the





answers required--was used and continued in the Gold Coast seven years after it was found to be unsatisfactory in England. After this system was abolished early in the twentieth century, the grant to be paid each school was assessed by the inspector on the general efficiency of the school. It often happened that the school that was inefficient was so because of lack of funds, so further inefficiency resulted when grants were denied it, because of this inefficiency. Consequently, it had no way to improve. This situation was a paramount reason for the low standard of many of the schools.

After World War I, the economy of the Gold Coast took a sharp upward swing due to increased revenue brought in by cocoa, mining, shipping, and lumber, thus making available more funds for educational purposes. At the same time, a more sympathetic attitude by the British government toward African education and the country's needs gave an impetus to educational reforms and extension.

The system of Indirect Rule whereby Native Authorities were instituted increased the revenue that communities had directly available with which to expand educational facilities. After some time school rates, or taxes, were levied by these Native Authorities. Also, the schools themselves, as was usual in Britain, charged fees of all pupils attending. The rapid increase in the investment in education from 1920 on, was cut back sharply by the economic slump of the 1930's. Services in all areas were greatly curtailed because government, missions, and parents were unable to meet the expenses involved in keeping the schools open. It was not until after World War II that development was resumed and even greatly accelerated due to the political climate which tended toward independence. Also a post-war boom made possible an increased



economic support of education. The British attitude toward colonial development had gradually changed, so that in 1940, the first Colonial Development Fund was established<sup>14</sup> to accelerate economic development and social and educational facilities. Later acts extended the help offered by these funds. The Cocoa Marketing Board, set up in 1947 to accumulate reserves for price stabilization, used some of its reserves for various social benefits such as awarding scholarships, endowing schools, and advancing research. This board was so interested in education that it gave three million pounds toward the Gold Coast University College alone.<sup>15</sup>

Some comparison of figures for key years may be helpful in getting a picture of government expenditures for education in Table 1.<sup>16</sup>

A sharp rise in educational expansion and financial support took place as a result of the Ten Year Development Plan of 1946. Botsio, Minister of Education in 1951, in his Progress of Education in the Gold Coast says:

When the Minister of Education came into office in 1951, he found an education system which had with difficulty survived the effects of the drastic cuts in the slump years of world depression in the early thirties, followed by severe restrictions during the war years of the forties. Concurrently with these lean years of educational starvation had grown an increasing hunger for schooling, so that supply had fallen far short of demand.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>F. M. Bourret, Ghana--The Road to Independence--1929-57, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 117.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>16</sup>McWilliams, p. 105.

<sup>17</sup>"Progress in Education in the Gold Coast," p. 3.





TABLE 1

## EDUCATION STATISTICS: 1880 - 1926

SIGNIFICANT DATES	GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION (in pounds)			PRIMARY SCHOOLS (Government and Assisted Schools only)			
1751- ) Independent 1880 ) Mission Development	Grants to Missions	Total Expendi- ture	No. of Schools	Boys	Girls	ENROLMENT Total	
	1880	425	1,325	139 <sup>a</sup>			5,000 <sup>a</sup>
1882) Education of Ordinances 1887)							
1890 Director of Education Appointed							
	1901	3,706	6,543	135	9,859	2,159	12,018
1919 Guggisberg appointed	1919	6,157	54,442	213	22,718	4,600	27,318
1925 Education Ordinance came into force in 1927	1926	30,887	179,000	234	26,039	6,800	32,839

<sup>a</sup> 1880 figures are approximate and include all schools, since no schools were "assisted" until after 1887 Ordinance.



Mr. Botsio, after he took office in 1951, presented an Accelerated Plan for Education. He sums up the progress of this plan in his Report of 1953. He says:

The Government has been keenly alive to the need for a rapid increase in the number of Africans trained and educated to fill posts of responsibility, and scholarships and bursaries on a very generous scale have been approved. These amount to 223,000 pounds each year apart from a capital sum of 1,000,000 pounds to be expended in the next few years on technical and general educational courses. In addition, large sums are available from non-Government sources, including the Colonial Development and Welfare Scholarships Scheme (80,000 pounds), and the Gold Coast Cocoa Marketing Board (21,000 pounds per annum) and many others of smaller amounts.

The cost of the new plan is very considerable. The recurrent cost in 1953-54 is estimated at 4,180,000 pounds sterling as against 1,300,000 pounds in 1951-52. . . . The Government recognizes that increased taxation will be required to enable expenditure to be continued at this rate, which represents fifteen per cent of the total estimates of ordinary recurrent expenditure for the whole country.

The Government regards education as the key to the people's progress . . . that the financing of the plan would make heavy demands on the resources of both the Central and the Local Governments but . . . whatever sacrifices might prove necessary would be willingly made for the great purpose of lifting the country to the highest standards of the democratic way of life.<sup>18</sup>

From the above it can be seen that education became increasingly demanded by the people and increasingly supported by the government. As the people became more directly involved in governing themselves, they became more aware of the needs and consequences of education and they rapidly took steps to supply funds for its development through their elected representatives.

Teaching Methods. -- When discussing the impact of the incoming European culture on that of the Gold Coast, Wilson says,

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 20.





The receiving society, underdeveloped as it may be, has a life and purpose of its own that takes the contributions from an outside culture and deflects it, as it were, in directions and to ends of its own . . . indigenous education of the pre-literate societies depended considerably on rote learning employing the memory and imitative factors of learning . . . . Western interests were in the direction of producing a certain number of minor administrative personnel whose tasks tended to be routine and repetitive and the memory and imitative faculty were not unsuitable to such work.<sup>19</sup>

Given these two basic conditions, the habit of mind of preliteracy and the kind of work the trainee was expected to do, rote learning becomes a reasonable method of the schools. The methods of the introduced Western education of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries relied heavily on rote learning also. It is not surprising then that the African methodology that developed was strongly oriented toward memory development rather than toward understanding and logical thinking. To make the situation even more conducive to rote learning, English was the language of instruction for most of the school career; the text books used were prepared for English, not African children, and so dealt with situations of which the African child knew nothing. Inadequately trained pupil teachers were used widely in elementary school. The lack of money made any facilities or teaching materials for other than the lecture method and rote learning an impossibility. Add to all these conditions the practical evidence that this kind of education had provided upward mobility and prestige, both economically and socially, for the first underprivileged groups who were practically press-ganged into the first schools, so

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<sup>19</sup> John Wilson, Education and Changing West African Culture, (Bureau of Publications, Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, 1963), p. 27.



the bookish educational means by which they rose became something akin to a form of magic in itself, regarded as something sacrosanct not to be lightly altered. Attempts at alteration by the colonial rulers were regarded as hostile acts intended to keep Africans permanently as hewers of wood and drawers of water. Thus the content and method of schools became sacrosanct and even ossified by the desire and will of the educated Africans themselves.<sup>20</sup>

After the two Commissions on education in the 1920's, efforts were made to make education more practical to the community as a whole by using demonstrations in school gardening, village sanitation and health, poultry keeping and other practical aids to improve living conditions. As no service training was provided to train the teachers these practical subjects, the attempt at a more useful orientation of the curricula failed. The practical subjects became just more subjects to be memorized from English textbooks so the change gave no practical learning for community betterment. The children were so highly motivated to learn anything and everything that promised security and prestige that very little teaching as such was required. So in spite of sporadic attempts at reform from bookishness to methods leading to more understanding, the lecture method and rote learning continued to be the methods used almost exclusively in the schools.

Primary Education. -- As has been mentioned previously, "When the missionaries began their educational work, they imported the English elementary curriculum of their day, namely the three R's, religious instruction and in general . . . minimum of practical work."<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>21</sup> Report of Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, August-November, 1946, No. VII, (Accra: Government Printing Department), p. 12.





The primary school consisted of three steps: infant, junior primary, and senior primary. Many of the Africans were by now Christians and as they wanted their children to acquire the Western education, they were prepared to pay the school fees charged. The missions did not have sufficient money to meet all the school expenditures now that so many wanted schooling and they had from the first taken over the responsibility of maintaining and building schools. The plan under which the mission schools operated as reported by the government was that: "Primary education normally commences at the age of about six and consists of three stages, covering ten years, though a majority of the pupils at present pass through only the first two stages."<sup>22</sup> Table 2 gives the relationship between the various stages of the school program.

Those who completed the ten-year elementary school became clerks or teachers since there was a great demand in these jobs for those who could speak and write English. The primary education given was considered to be a complete course in itself. Those who completed the ten years received the "Standard Seven Leaving School Certificate"<sup>23</sup> from the Education Department. To compare the numbers taking this course and those receiving their certificates, refer to Table 3. A strong note of censor can be detected in the following excerpt:

Both because of the original brand of primary education introduced and because of constant demand for clerical employees, literary emphasis in education persisted and is characteristic of the majority of primary schools today.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>23</sup> Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Disturbances of the Gold Coast, (London; H.M. Stationery Office, 1948), p. 62.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 62.



TABLE 2

DIAGRAMME SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE  
VARIOUS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS OF THE GOLD COAST

Years	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
											Training College for Teachers					
											Secondary Schools					
	Primary Infants							Schools Standards							Univ. Courses Achimota	
	1	2	3	i	ii	iii	iv	v	vi	vii						
											Comm. Courses Achimota					
								Middle Boarding Schools								
											Technical Schools					
											Training Schools of Various Depts.					





TABLE 3  
STANDARD VII CERTIFICATE EXAMINATION

Candidates			Candidates		
1938	No. Sat	No. Passed	1948	No. Sat	No. Passed
Boys	1902	1001	Boys	6189	3894
Girls	<u>438</u>	<u>381</u>	Girls	<u>1135</u>	<u>625</u>
Total	2340	1382	Total	7324	4546

From: "Reports on Education Department, " Accra, 1939, 1949, pp. 10 and 35.

The ten years required for the primary course tended to discourage pupils from pursuing any form of secondary, trade, or technical education even when money and facilities were present to do so. In 1942 the total enrolment in all schools represented only four and one-half per cent of the total population. (Table 4)<sup>25</sup>

The non-assisted schools, in most cases, were ill-housed, ill-equipped, and staffed with untrained teachers. From Table 5 it is evident that non-assisted schools outnumber both the government and assisted schools in number and enrollment. "Their existence and their expansion, however, does give a very clear indication of the unsatisfied demand for education."<sup>26</sup> This would therefore indicate that much of the primary education at this time was inadequate as to amount and quality.

That education facilities were inadequate in relation to the

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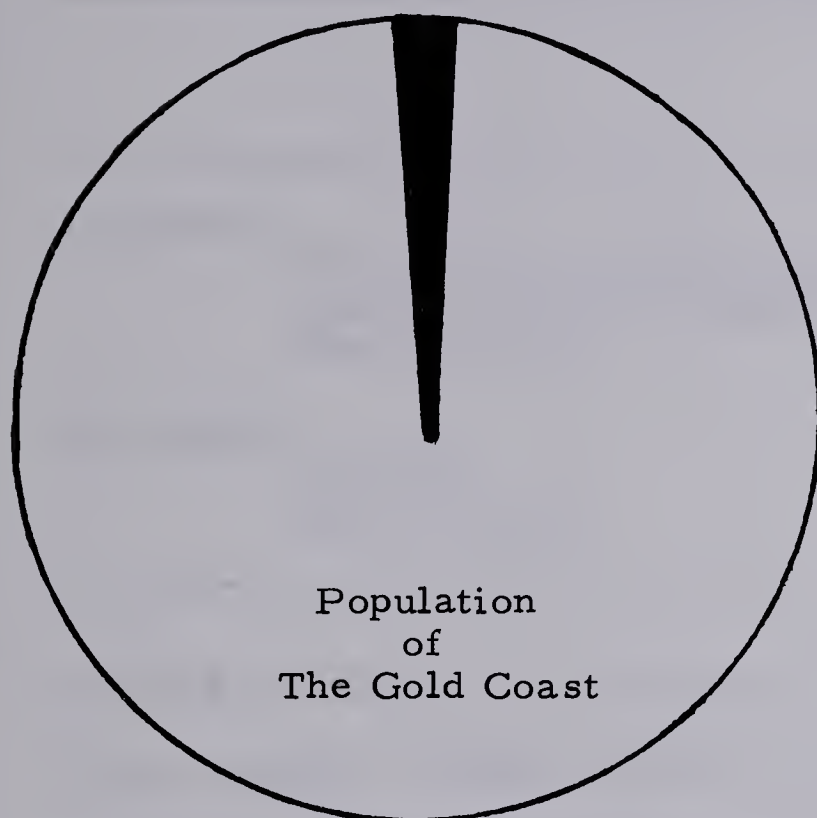
<sup>25</sup> Report of Commission on Higher Education in West Africa, p. 21.

<sup>26</sup> Report of the Commission of Enquiry, p. 62.



TABLE 4

DIAGRAMME SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF  
CHILD AND SCHOOL POPULATION



4-1/2% attend school

Total Population - 4 million



15.3% attend school

Estimated Child Population  
of the colony, Ashanti and  
Togoland (1942)



0.87% attend school

Estimated child  
population of the  
Northern Terri-  
tories (1942)





TABLE 5  
ENROLMENT OF SCHOOLS, 1947

	Number of Schools	Enrolment
Primary:		
Government and Assisted Schools	578	87,531
Approved Senior Primary	157	13,661
Non-Assisted	2,018	97,219
Secondary:		
Assisted	10	2,299
Non-Assisted	18	1,851

number of children to be educated is clear. As the majority of the people in the country, peasant farmers, could not afford to pay school fees, primary education, in effect, was available to only a select few. In 1940, the Education Department stated:

Compulsory education is a distant prospect of the Gold Coast for as yet the government and missions together bear far the biggest part of the cost of it . . . however, there are signs of a growing willingness among the chiefs and local communities to pay for education facilities and there is evidence of rapidly popular desire for education.<sup>27</sup>

The Constitution of 1946, by which the Africans were given a responsible share in the government, provided for a Ministry of Education and Social Welfare and the institution of the Accelerated Progress Plan previously mentioned.<sup>28</sup> Several significant developments then

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 63.

<sup>28</sup> Report on the Education Department, 1938-39, (Accra: Government Printing Office, 1940); p. 19.



took place.<sup>29</sup> First of all, more money became available, as by now education was seen as the main road to complete self-government. To make educational opportunity more equitable, all fees for primary education were dropped; it was made a six year course; it was renamed Primary instead of infant-junior. However, the free primary education was not made compulsory because there were not enough facilities to accommodate everyone in the age group. The name Middle School was given to the last four years of pre-secondary training and for this course, fees were still charged. This meant, in effect, primary education (6 years) was theoretically available to all children. In practice many were denied entrance because no schools nor teachers were available.

Teachers were in very short supply, so pupil-teachers still had to be used extensively, but a system of in-service training was started for them in an effort to improve the standard of their teaching. To show the increase in school attendance, refer to Table 6.

TABLE 6

## NUMBERS OF STUDENTS IN SCHOOL, DECEMBER, 1951

		Colony	Ashanti	Total
Primary	1	38,561	19,681	58,242
Primary	2	25,826	11,194	37,020
Primary	3	23,730	10,181	33,911
Primary	4	24,713	10,329	35,042
Primary	5	22,965	9,951	32,916
Primary	6	21,699	10,418	32,117
Middle	I	14,919	6,336	21,255
Middle	II	13,048	5,405	18,453
Middle	III	10,276	3,808	14,084
Middle	IV	9,001	2,670	11,671
		204,738	89,973	294,711

<sup>29</sup>These particulars and following statistics are taken from Progress of Education in the Gold Coast, pp. 8 and 9.





How these figures relate to the actual age group in the population can be seen from the following:

The problem presented statistically is as follows. The Colony and Ashanti, including Trans-Volta/Togoland have between them a population of approximately 3-1/4 million. Of the 3-1/4 million it has been calculated that 405,000 are of primary-school age and 270,000 are of middle-school age. A single age group would be approximately something over 80,000.

It will be seen that about two out of every three go on to middle schools from primary schools.

The problem in the Northern Territories is far greater because there are only about 5,000 pupils in school out of a school-age population of some 250,000. Class Middle IV in 1951 contained only 99 boys and 24 girls.<sup>30</sup>

With the removal of fees for primary school in 1951, the total enrolment in Primary 1 doubled, being over 132,000 in January, 1952, presenting a real dilemma to the authorities who had to use all their ingenuity to take care of the influx. More pupil-teachers, shift classes, and increased size of classes were some of the means used to accommodate all comers. There was some controversy as to whether some education of lower standard was preferable to restricted enrolment and higher standards, but the government was now committed to free and universal primary education and as time went on many of the difficulties were solved.

Fundamental Education. -- In 1951, the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare was instituted with Hon. Botsio as its first minister. He immediately set up, with the co-operation of the Department of Social

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid., pp. 8 and 9.



Welfare and Community Development, a "Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education."<sup>31</sup> In the foreward to the Plan, Botsio states:

It is a large scale balanced plan to help every part of our country to achieve literacy and to go far beyond that and transform its whole life. . . . Success depends on a spirit of self-help among the members of every community and on a willingness to co-operate with those who seek to help them. I appeal to all those who have been educated at school and who have the future of their country at heart to assist this Ministry and the Department of Social Welfare to bring to every community a vision of a better way of life which by its own efforts, they can build for themselves. This can best be done by voluntary and sustained endeavor in the actual work of teaching in literacy classes and in helping in mass education and community development activities and projects.<sup>32</sup>

Thus started a program of "each one teach one," training in child care and nutrition, first aid, sanitation, building projects, and other community development projects that soon spread to every corner of the country, greatly changing attitudes, facilities, and knowledge, especially in remote areas. Many mobile units with films and radio broadcasts were used by trained African personnel, who were assisted by UNESCO, to spread enlightenment. In 1950, a Vernacular Literature Board was established to ensure the right kind and quantity of follow-up literature for the new literates.<sup>33</sup> When the elections of 1946 and 1954 were pending, a Public Relations Department did much good work by explaining the elections and in promoting the need for the literacy work. Many boys' clubs and training centres were set up and others were expanded. By these efforts on the part of the government, many young

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<sup>31</sup> Welfare and Mass Education in the Gold Coast, 1946-1951, (West African Graphic Co., Limited, Accra, 1953), p. 67.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 66.





people, previously missed by the schools , were made literate and a part of the developing country.

One significant and far reaching activity had to do with a Survey of Unemployment of the Standard VII School Leavers.<sup>34</sup> This survey led to the setting up of the Ghana Young Pioneer movement, which will be dealt with further in a later section of this study.

Secondary Education. -- The Methodist Mfantshipim School, started in 1876, and the Anglican Adisadel College, 1910, both boys' boarding schools of the English Public School type, were the first secondary schools in the Gold Coast. Both schools were situated at Cape Coast, the administrative centre of that time.<sup>35</sup> The Accra Academy, a government school, the Presbyterian Secondary School, at Akrapong, and the Wesleyan Girls' High Schools at Cape Coast and Aburi were founded before the First World War. Until 1924, these schools were the only secondary schools satisfying the requirements for assistance from the government.<sup>36</sup>

Guggisberg, in 1919, had appointed a committee to investigate the secondary school situation. This commission reported a need for more secondary schools, and as a result of its recommendations, the Prince of Wales College, later named Achimota, was inaugurated by the government to provide a model school by which future development could be gauged. The aims of this model school, set forth by Dr. Aggrey in a radio address in 1925, were:

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 62.

<sup>35</sup>Bourret, p. 131.

<sup>36</sup>McWilliams, pp. 17 - 18.



The great need of the movement was an educational institution which could meet the highest and broadest needs of the African, and one where the leaders of the race would receive not only the best 'head education,' but an education of the 'heart' and 'hand' also. . . . It will be the aim of Achimota to correct the mistakes which have been made in the educational system of Africa. It will take the African boy or girl at the age of six, and carry him through kindergarten to the University courses. It will give the African not only professional training, but also technical courses that will teach both boys and girls the dignity of labor. . . . It will retain and improve the best things African with the best things Western. . . . Christianity will not be taught, but a truly Christian spirit will be fostered.<sup>37</sup>

The College, completed in 1931 at the cost of 617,000 pounds, was described thus:

An extensive campus was attractively laid out with a large administration block, numerous residential units, a hospital, museum, printing press, swimming pool, demonstration farm, and model native village for employees. Neither trouble nor expense was spared in obtaining an up-to-date plant and modern equipment. . . . The staff usually included about forty Europeans and sixty Africans, . . . a faculty ranking with the finest to be found in any comparable institution in England or America. Most of its Masters had Cambridge or Oxford degrees.<sup>38</sup>

This latter fact had great bearing on the way Achimota developed and later seemed to deny the hopes Aggrey had for it. In 1930, the Achimota Council took over the management of the college to make it autonomous, although it was to receive an annual grant of 48,000 pounds from the government.<sup>39</sup>

The aims as above stated reflected the increased interest in education of the colonial administration and the intelligensia of the colony, as well as the educationist of England and America.

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<sup>37</sup>Bourret, p. 135.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 137.





The guiding principles of Achimota were, at that time, revolutionary. Here was the first co-educational secondary boarding schools, the first to have Christian aims yet be undenominational, the first which tried to preserve African traditions as well as attain the highest academic standards of the Western World.<sup>40</sup>

After the University College opened in 1948, Achimota taught only a secondary course. Today it is considered by many to be the leading secondary school of Ghana. At various times it has been accused of fostering unrest among its student body, known disparagingly as "Achimota boys."

In spite of these early sporadic efforts to broaden education in scope and opportunity, there was little real progress in either area for a long time. One reason for this was the slump of the 1930's. The Report of the Education Committee 1937-1941 states:

There are at the present time three assisted boys' secondary schools in addition to Achimota, where there is a co-educational department, and the Wesley Girls' High School at Cape Coast is beginning to develop a secondary course. There is also an increasing number of non-assisted secondary schools of varying standards of efficiency.<sup>41</sup>

The report continues:

Many criticisms have been made of secondary education as it exists today; these may be summarized as follows:

- (1) the aim of general secondary education is still interpreted in many quarters in a narrow and almost exclusively materialistic sense, and bears little relation to the needs of the country;
- (2) the present facilities for secondary education are inadequate;
- (3) the existing facilities for secondary education are in danger of creating unemployment;
- (4) there is no provision for the control of education.

<sup>40</sup> McWilliams, p. 59.

<sup>41</sup> Report of the Education Committee, 1937-1941, (Accra: Gold Coast Government Printers, 1943). These particulars and statistics for this period are taken from this report, pp. 11 - 14, and Appendix A, p. 30.



Table 7 gives the comparative statistics 1920-1940. It can be seen from these figures that the increase in schools and students was modest for a twenty-year time span.

TABLE 7  
ENROLMENT IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Type of School	No. of Schools	Enrolment		Total
		Boys	Girls	
1920 Government Technical School	1	42	-	42
Assisted	1	75	-	75
Non-Assisted	1	90	-	90
Totals	3	207	-	207
1930 Government Technical School	1	84	-	84
Achimota	1	68	10	78
Assisted	2	376	-	376
Non-Assisted <sup>a</sup>	2	43	20	63
Totals	6	571	30	601
1940 Government Technical School	1	98	-	98
Achimota	1	218	85	303
Assisted	3	798	-	798
Non-Assisted	12	1,213	223	1,436
Totals	17	2,327	308	2,635

<sup>a</sup>Figures unreliable

This report made certain recommendations for the extension and improvement of secondary education, among the most important of these being:

- (1) Cambridge Junior Examination should be abolished.
- (2) Curriculum be brought more in line with national life and needs.





- (3) Government assistance be given to develop facilities for teaching science and in establishing more secondary schools, especially some for girls.
- (4) Scholarships be increased.
- (5) Some courses in agriculture given.

Little was accomplished until after the war, when activity in secondary education was resumed. Table 8 gives the situation in 1948, as to the assisted schools. The numbers of schools, students and distribution were still woefully inadequate.

TABLE 8  
SECONDARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT, 1948<sup>42</sup>

Name of School	Boys	Girls
Co-educational:		
Achimota	332	112
Boys:		
Presbyterian Secondary School (Akrapong)		
Mfantispim (Methodist) Cape Coast		
Adisadel (Anglican) Cape Coast	1,662	None
St. Augustine (Catholic) Cape Coast		
Accra Academy (Government) Accra		
Girls:		
Holy Child College (Catholic) Cape Coast		
Weslayan Girls High School (Methodist) Cape Coast		
St. Monica (Anglican) Kumasi		
Scottish Mission Girls School (Akrapong)	None	268
Total	1,994	380

<sup>a</sup> Located in Ashanti; all others in Gold Coast Colony.

<sup>42</sup> Report on the Education Department, 1947-48, (Accra: Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 10.



The aim of the secondary schools was to prepare students to take the Senior Cambridge School Certificate Examination. Therefore a syllabus, prepared by Cambridge Syndicate, University of Cambridge in England, was sent to all British Colonies each year. This syllabus was closely followed in the schools so little Africanization of curricula was possible.

At the end of the sixth form in the secondary school (last grade), students took for the Cambridge Examination, which was set and marked by the Cambridge Syndicate.

It must be borne in mind that English is a foreign language in the Gold Coast and that "in spite of the modification made by the Cambridge Syndicate for local requirements, the examination remains one devised for pupils with a totally different environment background. . . . Their results are undoubtedly good!"<sup>43</sup> Many of the secondary school teachers were inadequately trained and qualified and this worked a further hardship on pupils, because they did not receive any form of broad education since the teachers' experiences had been mainly in teaching only subjects listed in the syllabus, as they were there presented. This system fostered more rote learning than understanding.

Since there was then no teachers' college for preparing secondary school teachers, outstanding secondary school graduates were often employed to teach in the secondary schools. The limitation of this practice is obvious. Students, taught in this way, could have only a restrictive and "bookish" education.

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<sup>43</sup> Report on the Commission of Higher Education in West Africa,  
p. 23.





Many complaints were voiced by educationists and citizens that the "orthodox syllabus" prescribed by the Cambridge Syndicate did not fit the cultural, social, and environmental patterns of the country as the Commission on Higher Education states:

In most respects it is alien to it; and the facilities available to the English child out of school hours are completely lacking. The pupil is under the heavy handicap of being taught in English which to him is a foreign language.<sup>44</sup>

However, as time went on, increased facilities became available, as noted by McWilliams,

By 1950 nearly 600 pupils were passing the Cambridge School Certificate Examination each year--three times as many as at the end of the war. The number of recognized secondary schools had risen to twelve. . . . In 1951, the first secondary school in the Northern Territories was opened at Tamale. . . .<sup>45</sup>

More adjustment in curriculum was possible after the West African Examination Council was set up in 1952. This organ took over the setting and marking of examinations in African history, geography, biology and art. However, as most of the textbooks used were still English ones, or written by English teachers working in Africa, there was very slight change in the subject matter. So few books were available in African studies that many of the schools continued with syllabuses much as before the change in the examination procedure had been made.<sup>46</sup>

Under the Accelerated Development Plan of 1951, plans were made to provide fifteen day-schools, but these never materialized. By

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>45</sup>McWilliams, p. 81.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 80.



this plan secondary school costs, except boarding and tuition fees, were to be met by the government. Also provided for was a generous plan of scholarships and bursaries to needy students and the fees charged by boarding schools were made subject to approval of the Minister of Education. All these changes helped to better distribute secondary education among all the age group concerned.

For some time, efforts to reduce the number of years of education in primary and middle school had been attempted, but because primary school was taught in the vernacular, sufficient facility in English was not acquired until after four years in Middle School. To overcome this difficulty, English was to be started in Primary School so that pupils could pass the entrance examination into secondary school at an earlier age.<sup>47</sup> See Table 9 for the complete educational plan.

All these measures greatly increase the opportunity for, and effectiveness of secondary education so that a rapidly increasing number of entrants into the University College would be possible.

As the average age of students passing the School Certificate is steadily lowered, it will be increasingly possible to build up sixth-form work in the secondary schools. . . . Under the development plan we can expect a substantial improvement in the standards of secondary schools and a steady increase in the numbers of students satisfactorily completing secondary courses.<sup>48</sup>

The purpose of these changes, as stated in the above quotation, also had the effect of retaining more of the pupils in school until they had reached a level of education at which they could provide the leadership so

<sup>47</sup> Progress Education in the Gold Coast, p. 15.

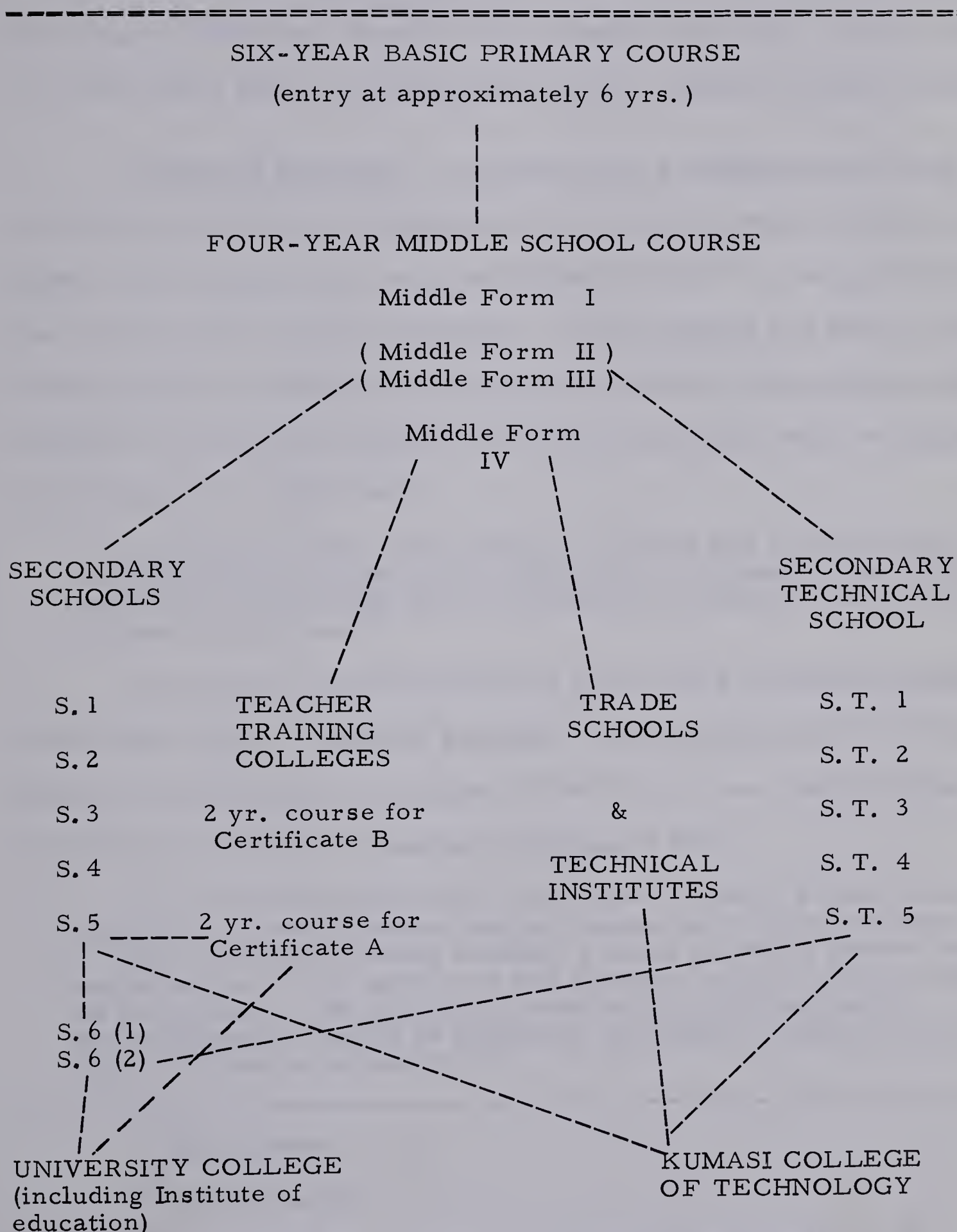
<sup>48</sup> Report of the Committee on Higher Education, p. 32.





TABLE 9

OUTLINE OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM





badly needed in the developing country. The aim of the improvements was to provide suitable and adequate education for all by catering to a diversified range of abilities. However, the academic secondary schools continued to be favored in spite of encouragement of the trade and technical schools.

Technical Education. -- As far back as Guggisberg's Sixteen Principles of 1920 the establishment of boys' trade schools had been proposed. Four trade schools were established in 1922<sup>49</sup> by the government, one of them in the Northern Territory. These schools met with but indifferent success and support, at least partly because of the apprenticeship system in the indigenous system, but also because they were not supported by the Africans. Wilson says:

A number of trade and vocational schools of a very practical kind set up in the Gold Coast in the 1920's had to be closed in the 1930's, one of the reasons being lack of enthusiasm for them on the part of the Africans themselves.<sup>50</sup>

All areas of education were cut back during the thirties because of the trade slump. Technical education was especially hard hit. The Report of the Education Committee of 1941 did not even mention technical education but regarding Vocational Training, it said:

We are of the opinion that the purpose of senior primary schools should be to provide general and not vocational or trade education. . . . The Government middle boarding schools provide a general education and at the same time their work has a strong vocational bias, emphasis being put . . . on carpentry, metalwork, and masonwork. . . . We recommend it should be continued, and that the number of such schools should be increased.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Mc Williams, p. 60.

<sup>50</sup> Wilson, p. 30.

<sup>51</sup> Report of the Education Committee, 1937-1941, p. 9.





In 1942, under Governor Burns, some impetus to technical education development was sponsored. He devised the Ten Year Plan in 1946, but although progress in other kinds of education was made, it was noted that "none was possible in technical education as the only Technical School, at Takoradi, was being used by the Royal Airforce as a base from which planes were flown to the Middle East."<sup>52</sup>

Botsio, reporting progress under this plan up to the time he took office as Minister of Education says:

Technical education had been severely handicapped by shortage of experienced staff and the occupation of the only technical school, . . . during the war. This school was now functioning again and three trade schools had been opened. . . . But in these establishments there was an undercurrent of discontent that the courses did not lead students on to appointments such as were obtainable by those from secondary schools. The white collar continued to fascinate. . . . Plans had already been drawn up for the establishment of the Kumasi College of Technology with departments of engineering, commerce, agriculture.<sup>53</sup>

The Accelerated Plan for Education, 1951, proposed to change the course in the technical schools, four altogether, to a secondary technical course. The idea of this move was to make it possible for the students, besides courses in technical drawing, and practical subjects to also be able to achieve the desired Secondary School Certificate.

The taking of the School Certificate will do much to popularize these schools in the eyes of the public, who still regard the secondary grammar schools as the only roads to respectable employment.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup>Mc Williams, p. 72.

<sup>53</sup>Progress in Education, p. 4.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 17.



Students graduating from the secondary technical schools 'capable of doing so' could then proceed to the Kumasi College of Technology or continue training as technicians either at one of the Technical Institutes or with industrial firms.<sup>55</sup> (See Table 9)

Three trade schools and four Technical Institutes were to be set up for the training of artisans. (Table 9.) Also mobile units were to be introduced. Entry into these schools would be from Middle Form IV by competitive examination. A four year course was given in the Technical Institutes.

The products of these schools have had a sound practical training in either engineering trades or in building construction together with the necessary theoretical background. . . . It is hoped that if the trainees secure employment with well-established firms under competent supervision, they will in time demonstrate their ability to fill posts as foremen and leading artisans, of which there is such a shortage.<sup>56</sup>

In 1952, the Kumasi College of Technology opened. This school is an autonomous institution with a governing council which controls the grants given to it by the government. It, in the beginning, received help and advice from the Council for Overseas Colleges of Arts, Science, and Technology in England,<sup>57</sup> in order to keep standards of training and results high. "It opened in 1952 to provide courses of vocational and technological training, and will eventually, according to plans, have 1,200 students."<sup>58</sup>

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>57</sup>McWilliams, p. 80.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 80.





Although the need for training skilled workers to provide for the developing economy was recognized, the provision for this kind of education was not adequate in kind nor quality nor was it sufficiently supported by public opinion. The desire of most scholars was still for the literary education as given in the secondary schools.

Teacher Training and Salaries. -- An adequate teacher supply had been a constant problem of the schools. The situation is stated explicitly in the following:

As early as 1909, the government started a training college in Accra. Some of the Missions also, especially the Basel Mission, gave some training to their pupil teachers. After the First World War, the government took over the training colleges of the German missions but later transferred them to the control of the Presbyterian Church. By 1919 there were 8,500 children to be taught but as only eighty teachers could be trained a year in the existing colleges, a severe shortage of personnel became chronic. Because the pay of teachers was so much lower than rewards in other employment, many left the schools for other work.<sup>59</sup>

Alleviation of the pressing situation was attempted through the years in various ways. By the Education Ordinance of 1925, efforts were made to raise the status of the teaching profession. Salaries were raised--minimum of one hundred pounds a year--and where necessary, subsidized by the government. Also, unqualified teachers were discharged, but this step resulted only in the closing of many schools. The training course for teachers was extended to four years, and a teacher training department was opened in Achimota in 1924. Two new colleges were opened in 1930 so that 600 teachers per year could be trained.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>59</sup> Report of Educationist Committee, 1920, p. 8. (Accra: Government Printers).

<sup>60</sup> McWilliams, p. 57.



As was true of other areas of educational development, teacher training and supply suffered from the 1930 cutbacks. Salaries and conditions of work became so bad that in 1932, the Assisted School Teachers Union, later named the Gold Coast Teachers' Union, was organized. They pressed for unified salary scales and conditions of service for all teachers, whether in government or mission schools, and for a pension scheme. Both these objectives had to wait for realization for over twenty years. Because of the poor conditions of service, few scholars wanted to enter the teaching ranks, so a perennial teacher shortage was endemic.

This prevailing shortage of teachers in the thirties was partly met by an increased use of pupil teachers and by instituting a two-year course for Certificate B teachers to staff the increasing numbers of primary schools. This allowed twice as many teachers to be trained at the same cost and met the emergency in the primary schools.<sup>61</sup> The four-year Certificate A course trained teachers for Middle School teaching. Secondary school teachers were usually received with degrees from English colleges, but many of these teachers were without any professional training.

The salaries at this time differed as to the type of school in which one taught. The scale in Government schools ranged from forty-eight pounds per annum to 208 pounds after twenty years' experience. The teachers in the assisted schools received seventy-one pounds to 155

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<sup>61</sup> Report of Education Committee, 1937-41, Ch. 11, pp. 16-21. The particulars and statistics used in this and following discussions of this period are taken from this report. See this report for a full discussion of conditions at this time.





pounds after seventeen years. A committee to investigate education in 1941 recommended one scale to be used for all teachers with the same amount of training, this to be from forty-two pounds to ninety pounds for Certificate B and fifty-four pounds to a maximum of 156 pounds for Certificate A, maximum to be reached after twenty years of service. These salaries represented some slight economic advantages over former conditions, but were still drastically out of proportion with living costs and with remuneration to be had in other lines of work requiring equal education. Therefore, the teaching profession continued to lose many of its best members to other occupations, especially to government positions.

The period from 1940-1950 showed considerable activity in the field of teacher training as it did in all other fields. The six colleges of 1940, turning out about 600 teachers a year, rose by 1950 to nineteen institutions training 1,800 teachers. These teachers were recruited from Middle School and so their skill and knowledge in English was deficient, and this has been, and remains, a stumbling block in the quality of the teaching done.

When fees were abolished in Primary Schools in 1951, the enrollment in these schools doubled,<sup>62</sup> causing much consternation in the Education Department and among teachers. To meet the emergency more pupil teachers had to be used, and the teachers in training doubled in number. To do this four emergency Training Colleges, giving short preliminary courses, and thirteen new training colleges were opened, and six of the

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<sup>62</sup> Progress in Education, p. 10.



existing colleges were doubled in size. Salaries were instituted for teachers-in-training for the first time. Certificate B teachers, after completing two years' practical experience, were enticed back to training college on salary, for two years more training for which a Certificate A was awarded. This training at government expense had some strings attached: "The posting of teachers trained at government expense will be controlled as far as possible as long as they have a scarcity value in order that their services may be fairly distributed."<sup>63</sup>

This developed into the system requiring all teachers trained at government expense to remain in teaching for five years so they would not all be lost to higher paid jobs.

The University College, opened in 1948, started an Institute of Education to train teachers for secondary schools, training colleges, and for administrative positions. This Institute also conducts extramural classes for in-service training and does valuable research work in African Studies and in the writing of text books and preparing other school materials based on the African culture. In these and other ways the University College exerts a far reaching influence in the educational field.

These various expansions and innovations did not completely overcome the teacher shortage nor remove training inadequacies, but they did help to increase the status of teachers, improve the quality of teaching, and establish a core of quality teachers to serve as a basis for later professional development.

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 12.





Higher Education. -- Guggisberg had envisioned vaguely as early as 1925 a university for the Gold Coast. The economic difficulties of the 1930's and the war of the 1940's curtailed any advance in this area, however. In 1943, the British government set up the Elliott Commission to review the field of higher education in West Africa. The Commission did not agree, the Majority Report favoring separate universities in Nigeria, Gold Coast, and Sierra Leone; the Minority Report favoring one central one, to be situated in Nigeria. The British government, in 1945, accepted the Minority Report which act set off a storm of protest in the Gold Coast. The popular reaction to the report is stated in the following excerpt from a local magazine:

The Elliott Report was a landmark in the history of education in West Africa; yet its limitations were those of people who saw Africa inevitably in the pattern of colonialism. . . . They had a clear vision of the growth of African Nationhood but they had no conception of the fact that nationhood was just around the corner. Not in a hundred years or fifty years but in twelve years, the free, independent state of Ghana was born.<sup>64</sup>

The protests of the people resulted in the setting up of a Committee on Higher Education in 1946.<sup>65</sup> Their report showed cause in great detail why and how the Gold Coast could have its own university by extending courses and facilities of the already established Achimota College and later building the new institution on Legon Hill nearby. The government proceeded to follow the suggestions of this report. The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund gave an initial grant for this of 400,000 pounds and the cocoa farmers raised 900,000 pounds by a

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<sup>64</sup>"Legon Assumes a New Look," by Candidus, Ghanaian, Vol. 4, No. 39, Sept. 1961.

<sup>65</sup>Report of the Committee on Higher Education, August-November, 1946, (Accra: Government Printing Department).



voluntary levy on themselves. The beautifully designed new University College of Legon opened in 1948 with an enrollment of ninety.<sup>66</sup>

In order to maintain standards and win international recognition, the college was affiliated with the University of London, which appointed suitable staff and adapted suitable syllabuses to more nearly serve local needs without lowering the value of the degrees awarded, and set and marked examinations.<sup>67</sup> This arrangement was to terminate as soon as the University College was firmly established.

The new university was extensive and elaborate for the small enrolment it served, but it served as a symbol of the rising expectations of the Africans. They saw this institution as being the means of preparing their youth for the leadership of the country and as an expression of their rising nationalistic fervor. It was to prove to be all this in the years to follow, but it also developed as a threat to what its students considered to be the tyrannical rule of the leader of the newly independent country.

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<sup>66</sup>Mc Williams, p. 78.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 78.





### CHAPTER III

#### DEVELOPMENT IN EDUCATION SINCE INDEPENDENCE

From the foregoing section, it is obvious that considerable development in distribution of and opportunity in education occurred after 1945. To see why this was so, we need to review the political, economic, and social conditions which interacted with and upon the education scene.

The longest and most direct contact of the African with British institutions took place in the Colony where traders and missionaries had been more or less common since the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> It is reasonable to expect then that this area would be the most affected, both negatively and positively, by the culture contacts involved. Ashanti and the Northern Territories had later and less contact and so had less educational opportunity. From the Ordinance of 1883,<sup>2</sup> the policy of the British had been to deal directly with the chiefs, hoping that by upholding their authority, conditions conducive to trade and imperial interests could be maintained. This became increasingly hard to do as a new element, outside the traditional authority, came to have status and prestige:

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<sup>1</sup>H. D. A. McWilliams, The Development of Education in Ghana, (London: Longman, Green and Co., Ltd., 1959), p. 8.

<sup>2</sup>F. M. Bourret, Ghana - The Road to Independence - 1929-57, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960), p. 22.



Its (ordinance 1883) main purpose was to safeguard the traditional position of the chiefs; but it was not conspicuously successful and their authority was steadily diminishing, especially in regard to the educated classes in the coastal towns. . . . The strengthening and modernizing of tribal government remained as one of the major problems of British authority in the Gold Coast.<sup>3</sup>

The system of "Indirect Rule," as introduced by Lugard,<sup>4</sup> was the method used to bolster traditional authority. As many of the chiefs were illiterate, conservative, and considered to be tools of the colonial government, they became, for the educated and semi-educated, a symbol of the deprivation of their human rights. "Wherever literary education is widespread the dignity and prestige of a chief suffers greatly. In fact, it is in inverse proportion to the spread of formal education."<sup>5</sup>

As time went on, the boys educated in the secondary schools became linked in the popular mind with the vested authority. The schools, modelled after the English "public" school image and staffed by graduates of Oxford or Cambridge, indoctrinated the students in the English tradition of the rule of the aristocratic elite. Many graduates of the secondary schools themselves went on to Oxford or Cambridge and so became firmly oriented in the English tradition. As the missionaries often conferred with the administration, they too became associated in the popular mind with the forces depriving the people of their complete participation in the fruits of progress. These groups, colonial officials, chiefs, church officials, the intelligensia, became the targets of the rising nationalism.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>6</sup>For an excellent discussion of the overtones of this struggle see Apter, Gold Coast in Transition, especially Part III.





As has been noted in the preceding section, there was recurring agitation for Africanization of the curriculum of the schools, wider and more equally distributed educational opportunity, and a more practical approach to the growing needs of industrialization. At the same time, there was reluctance to accept anything but what was considered to be the source of British power--a literary education. As a result of this attitude and because of lack of money and facilities, little change had been made from year to year, and the education machine continued to grind out clerks and other white collar workers. The better educated and more responsible of those so educated achieved good jobs and high status, but a great many, Standard VII leavers,<sup>7</sup> mostly inadequately trained and often irresponsible, were unable to secure employment or status. This restless group formed a vast pool of social agitation and delinquency. As a result of these complementary but contradictory conditions, "the amalgamation of disassociate groups around a particular leader, or symbol, or set of ideas, or combination thereof,"<sup>8</sup> gave rise to the "Independence Now" movement under the charismatic<sup>9</sup> leadership of Kwame Nkrumah, which resulted in independence March 6, 1957.

Although more or less vague and general statements had been made by colonial officials<sup>10</sup> and African leaders from 1920 onward that

<sup>7</sup>David E. Apter, The Gold Coast in Transition, (New York: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 165.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>9</sup>For a discussion of charisma in social movements see Weber, Theory of Social and Economic Organization, pp. 354-360, and Apter, pp. 208, 303.

<sup>10</sup>McWilliams, p. 49.



self-government for the Gold Coast was the goal to be attained, not much concrete progress had been made in this direction until after the war. At that time the returning soldiers focused rising protests on existing conditions. These men,<sup>11</sup> having seen conditions in other countries and having served well, were in a position to evaluate more readily than before what they saw as the exploitation of themselves and their country for the sake of imperial expediency. Riots in 1948, in which several people were killed, awakened officialdom that all was not well on the Gold Coast. Apter describes the situation thus:

After the war the identities of problems and interests which increasingly cut across tribal boundaries enabled new groups to form having common psychological and social frontiers. Those who had hitherto been marginal men were now tantamount to effective public opinion. They were organized and they were many. They had a goal--self-government--They had a devil--British imperialism. They found a God--Kwame Nkrumah. . . . Clamor was raised by Africans against things which only a few years previously no African would have dreamed of questioning. Basic rights and freedoms were issues posed against the legality of political domination, providing a more ready hostility and distrust of anything colonial. . . . In the increased tempo of post-war Gold Coast life, the more delicate nationalism of the Achimota elite and the intelligensia . . . (which) advocated self-government in the "shortest possible time" gave way to the more robust and popular mass following of Kwame Nkrumah . . . and its demands for "self-government now." Its membership was primarily the partially educated, the Standard VII boys, whose roots with the rural areas were not dissolved but whose urban affiliations made possible quick and effective organization.<sup>12</sup>

In speaking of this formative period in aggressive nationalism and its leader, Apter states:

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<sup>11</sup>For a discussion of the part the Gold Coast troops played in the war, see Bourret, Chapter IX, pp. 142-157.

<sup>12</sup>Apter, p. 166.





A capable organizer and a sophisticated politician, he (Nkrumah) became a popular idol almost overnight. . . . His acquaintance with Marxism and his abilities as an orator gained him a following among the young, the disadvantaged, the disillusioned, and the idealistic. He was untainted by co-operation with the authorities and his aggressiveness and success alarmed the leadership of the Gold Coast Convention (intelligensia) and earned him the enmity of the Colonial authorities. . . . He proposed a political program which seemed to sum up the aspiration of thousands of people, to point a path of progress, and to lead them out of the confusion wrought by the uneven pace of social change. . . . (he) would lead the country to Freedom . . . and to new stature and dignity.<sup>13</sup>

Due largely to this political and social unrest brought on by economic and social deprivation, several changes made in the government structure gave the Africans more and more political power. The Constitution of 1950 allowed for the election of native representatives to the government. The result was that Nkrumah, in jail at the time, was elected leader of Government Business in 1951. This meant he had power to institute some of his ideas. He believed education to be the key to continued progress on the road to independence. This changed political status of the Africans, then, and accounts for the acceleration in educational benefits noted in the previous chapter. Continued and extended political power was the reason that educational opportunity could be accelerated in the period 1952-1957 herein reviewed.

With the setting up of the Ministry of Education in 1951, education became a major consideration in government policy. This improved position meant that ideas of the Africans as to how education could be improved and extended were recognized. Also the Minister now had the power to get money to put these ideas into effect. As a result, acceleration went forward at break-neck speed, hampered only by the need to

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 168.



build and equip schools, and train or find teachers to accommodate those clamoring for education. Now to be educated began to mean not only a chance to improve one's economic and social status, but also an expression of the nationalistic aim of developing the "African Personality."<sup>14</sup>

In the previous sections a survey of the basic structure of the educational system has been given and a resumé of the accelerated expansion after African representation in the government had been granted. In this section the concern will be with the extension of educational opportunity into all areas of the population and of the way in which government involvement was directed toward the betterment of the society as a whole so that all the diverse groups of the society could be welded into a composite unit dedicated to unity and progress.

#### Aim of Education--Development of the African Personality. --

The post-war period was notable for the overt expression, of the desire on the part of the African, to be recognized as a worthy human being in his own right. To him it seemed, one of the ways to achieve this was to increase educational opportunity and to make its aim the expressing of the "African Personality."<sup>15</sup> As this aim has become the dominant factor in all educational, political, economic, and social development in Ghana, it is necessary to try to get an idea of what is meant by it.

Maybe we can best try to get the African viewpoint from African

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<sup>14</sup>Alex Quaison-Sackey, Africa Unbound--Reflections of an African Statesman, (New York: Frederick A. Prasger, Inc., 1963), Ch. 2, p. 35.

<sup>15</sup>Kwame Nkrumah, as quoted by Quaison-Sackey, p. 35.







writers. Duodo says in an article in "Drum":

With the collapse of imperialism . . . a desire has grown among our people for self-realization in all fields. Political independence, as it were, "unbottled" the souls of Africans everywhere, and many want to scrap the blind imitation of Europeans which characterized the colonial era.<sup>16</sup>

Further he says:

There is a way of doing things that is distinctly African. . . . If you eat, dance or sing in an indigenous manner, as distinct from an unAfrican way . . . you can acclaim to be asserting your "African Personality" . . . in ordinary circumstances, you wouldn't need to draw attention to the fact that you are doing the thing in your native way--you would just do it. But the case of Africans is different. The people who brought us the car, the telephone, the hospital, and the book--all these things which made us wonder at their ingenuity, and near-worship them--took an undue advantage of our state of mind. They gave us, over the centuries, a feeling that only their way was good, "civilized". . . . It is the realization now that technological superiority does not necessarily mean cultural superiority that has set thinking Africans aflame and made them all go out to be themselves and not what is at best, a bad imitation of somebody else.<sup>17</sup>

Quaison-Sackey makes these comments:

They (historical facts) are part of what the present-day African wishes to discover, to re-create, in order to understand who he is, whence he came; and since he knows no personality can be fully and effectively realized except in the open air of freedom and independence. . . . Yet he knows, too, as a result of colonial domination, that his struggle to attain a personality, an individuality, and the equality, dignity, and respect that accompany it, is more difficult for him than for other people of other colors--and largely because the white man has needed to depict him, as in effect, subhuman in order to justify his own cruelty and rapacity.<sup>18</sup>

That the African has some justification for his desire to exert himself and try to eliminate the feeling of inferiority instilled in him by his Western education is shown by Jahoda.

<sup>16</sup> Cameron Duodo, "Christianity and the African Personality," Drum Magazine, (September, 1961), p. 31.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>18</sup> Quaison-Sackey, p. 40.



From the beginning of the nineteenth century onward, the relationship between Europeans and Africans in the Gold Coast has gradually but fundamentally altered. From being masters in their own country, the Africans had become subject to colonial rule, the paternalism of which only underlined their inferior status.<sup>19</sup>

And again:

African attitudes and stereotypes about Europeans are indissolubly linked with African self-images, as they have gradually evolved in the course of contact with the West. Normally, a person would hardly think of himself as an "African" except within the context of comparison and contrast with whites. The most important single influence which has forced the African to look at himself "from outside" as it were, has been the importation of formal Western education.<sup>20</sup>

That this self-image of inferiority of the African was caused by the European attitude of superiority is evident in the following statement:

There is little question that Europeans were serenely confident of their superiority over Africans, . . . it is clear European educators have been by no means immune from the prevailing climate of opinion (racist, white supremacy) which affected African self-image.<sup>21</sup>

That these attitudes have been carried on and still are evident is seen by:

African pupils' conceptions of themselves are the result of moral training or education of character. In the past such training was carried out by people with scant sympathy for, or understanding of, the cultural values they were seeking to replace; some even held the then common stereotypes of the supposedly inferior mental capacity of their charges. All these attitudes were passed on to the African pupils by their African teachers, who had themselves been trained by whites and had taken over their outlook.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Suslav Jahoda, White Man, a Study of Attitudes of Africans to Europeans in Ghana, (Accra: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 7.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 90.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., p. 100.







And again, "European values inevitably continue to be transmitted through formal education, although more direct and arrogant claims of white virtue have been largely eliminated."<sup>23</sup>

It can readily be seen, then, the African has a case for wishing to establish plainly his African personality for as Kofi Antubam, one of the most distinguished Ghanaian artists says:

As the torch of freedom blazes off the darkness of tribalism, colonialism, and imperialism in Africa, more and more African states will become truly free and independent. And as it happens everywhere in the world, with independence shall come a positive realization of the vitality of their existence to the great masses of Africans. . . . And it is only natural to admit that to most people in life one of the main purposes of existence is the establishment of a name, a distinct identity.<sup>24</sup>

From the foregoing quotations the link between education and political and social development is clear, and has been substantiated both by observation in the field and by inquiry into the attitudes of Africans by Africans. It will be reasonable to expect, then, that with the increased political power of the African in the Constitutions of 1950 and of 1954 full political power given by the Independence Act of 1957, the assertion of Africans in all spheres, nationally and internationally, would be of major importance. All developments in education since the first general elections in 1951, and increasingly since 1957, have been in terms of promoting nationalistic aims through the African personality. Lewis says:

Indirect assistance (by the British) is being rejected by Africans

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 101.

<sup>24</sup>Kofi Antubam, Ghana's Heritage of Culture, (Leipzig: Koehler and Amelang, 1963), p. 20.



who, impatient to be done with all signs and symbols of imperial tuteage, are looking in other directions for inspiration and help. Friends and enemies are rushing in at breakneck speed, sure of their ability to do better. . . . Whilst education is essentially concerned with the immediate present and the future, it is rooted in the past.<sup>25</sup>

King reminds us:

Schools and teachers are highly characteristic of the societies in which they find themselves. They are themselves already "processed" or geared for certain clearly discernable purposes before they ever set their minds and hands to teaching anything. Moreover, schools handle just as little of the educative process and have just as little influence as pupils,<sup>26</sup> parents, priests, publicists and politicians are willing to allow.

And again, "When all is said and done, schools are seldom if ever, the main educative influence in all societies in which they operate."<sup>27</sup>

Later he says:

Cultures tend to be locally complete and satisfying. The importance of supposedly desirable new ingredients (such as factories, communications, and schools and subjects) may disturb that balance of the whole--and may therefore impair its health and efficiency. The immediate results are not inevitably good. Extremely delicate and useful instruments of human understanding may be destroyed.<sup>28</sup>

We have then in Ghana a complex situation because of the distinctly contradictory aims of different groups in the society as a whole. These groups and their aims are summarized in the following:

<sup>25</sup> J. D. Lewis, British Contributions to Education in Africa, (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1962), p. 80.

<sup>26</sup> Edmund James King, World Perspective in Education, (London: Bobbs-Merrill Company Inc., 1962), p. 41.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 42.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., p. 58.







1. The intelligensia, trained in the old "public school" tradition of England and in the English institutions of higher learning and who had expected inevitably to step into the positions of political control when the British left, were and are themselves unsure of African abilities, excepting in themselves. They see no need for any overt or extensive expression of African-ness. This group want to retain British institutions and ways of thought and so in effect maintain an aristocratic elite trained to rule by virtue of their superiority in moral and mental discipline as Christian gentlemen.
2. The traditional element, headed by the chiefs, but supported by many of the older villagers, want to re-instate or continue the native culture complete, but still have the technological advantages necessary to assure some economic success.
3. The middle group--composed mostly of formerly underprivileged and partly educated persons who have felt most their deprivations in the changing culture. This group corresponds to the surging masses of England that forced through reformation in the social and the political situation of the Industrial Revolution. It could be said this is the democratic group, for they want to make available for the masses the fruits of the society, by democratizing institutions and so emancipating the common man.

Of course, as is true everywhere, the leaders and more vocal components of each group are concerned mostly with their own personal betterment. The rank and file have little knowledge of, or concern with, the ideology involved. However, the results of the action taken by the leaders affect the group as a whole, whether or not all the individuals of



that group are personally involved in the action.

The problem then was to work out some synthesis which would take care of the most important issues involved. As can be expected in a newly independent country such as Ghana, the political machine will have a more pronounced effect upon action taken than it would have in a country of stable government and indigent culture such as is the case in Canada. Also it is readily understandable that the Ghanaians, in the flush of independence and with their penchant for exuberance, might over-compensate for former disabilities and express this reaction in what may appear to us as extravagant terms. Taking the whole situation and its overtones into consideration, it is not surprising that Nkrumah, being the sophisticated politician he is, and being cognizant of the nice balance of forces, has contrived an overall policy, which is designed to build up the Ghanaian's confidence in himself. This will be done by so developing and promoting the country that the African personality will become a real force in the world.

This overall design then is evident in all developments in the educational system in the last ten years--1952-1962, because, "education is seen as the prime instrument of social change and economic advancement. It must stress and develop complimentary roles and responsibilities (a part of personal status) both at home and internationally."<sup>29</sup>

In Ghana then, all institutions, and especially the schools, have become agents in promoting a synthesis of cultures to promote personal,

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 38.





national and economic success. That thinking Ghanaians are conscious of the paradoxical nature of the situation is made plain by the following statement by one of Ghana's outstanding diplomats:

All of us must, of course, carry our pasts with us, since we are part of all that we have met; and the more we understand about our pasts, the better we understand ourselves. The African is no exception. He is, however, in a somewhat different position, for his personality is emerging at the same time that his national consciousness . . . is emerging to play its role among the nations of the world. Not only individually, but nationally and internationally, he must make a distinction between being conscious of his traditions and being tradition-bound, for traditions unsuited to our modern age can become fetters, hindering free action. Therefore Africa must walk a narrow line in her growth and development. On the one hand, she must draw strength, wisdom, and a sense of stability from the past; on the other, she must make sure that she does not become immobilized or imprisoned by an exaggerated respect for the traditions of the past. Has she not with infinite pain and effort just burst from the prison of colonial control? It would be indeed ironic and senseless for her to suddenly find herself incarcerated in an even stronger prison of her own devising.<sup>30</sup>

The story of education has been one of expansion of schools at all levels and an attempt to make them serve the national aims more directly. To quote a government pamphlet, "Ten Great Years": "More was achieved in the five years from 1951 to 1956 than a commission on education appointed in 1948 believed to be possible in twenty years, and progress continues to be rapid."<sup>31</sup>

A more detailed picture of this rapid development will be given in the following treatment of each area of education as was done in the foregoing chapter.

Administration and Finance. -- Since 1951, when the Ministry

<sup>30</sup>Quaison-Sackey, p. 50.

<sup>31</sup>"Ten Great Years, 1951-1960, (Accra: Ghana Information Services, July, 1960), p. 47.



of Education was filled by a Ghanaian appointee, most of the officials of education have been Ghanaians. In cases where Europeans still hold positions, these are of a secondary nature. Most of the headmasters of schools are Ghanaian. The few remaining English headmasters have been told their periods of services are to be terminated as soon as qualified Africans are available. For example, in 1961, Adisadel College was one of the few schools still having an English headmaster, but he had received notice in 1961 that his contract would not be renewed as a Ghanaian would take over the school the following year.

Very few Europeans are on boards of governors for schools. In cases where religious, industrial, or trade interests are represented on these boards, such representatives are Ghanaians even though the institution itself is English.

By the Education Act of 1961,<sup>32</sup> the first such act, elementary education became free and compulsory. Also local education authorities became responsible for building, equipping, and maintaining all primary and middle schools.<sup>33</sup> As regards religion, the Act stated:

No person shall be refused admission as a pupil to or refused attendance as a pupil at any school on account of the religious persuasion, nationality, race or language of himself or of either of his parents.

No person attending or desirous of attending a school as a pupil shall, if his parents object, be required to attend or to abstain from attending, whether in the institution or elsewhere, any Sunday School or any form of religious worship or observance, or any instruction

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<sup>32</sup> The Education Act 1961, (Accra: Government Printing Department, Part I General).

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., Part III, Section 7.





in religious subjects.<sup>34</sup>

The following Table shows the management of schools as of 1962.<sup>35</sup>

TABLE 10

MANAGEMENT OF PUBLIC PRIMARY AND  
MIDDLE SCHOOLS JANUARY, 1962

	Schools	
	Primary	Middle
Local Authorities:	1,698	733
Local Authorities under temporary management of:		
The Presbyterian Church	147	57
The Methodist Church	233	85
The Roman Catholic Church	356	89
The Anglican Church	83	27
The Evangelical Presbyterian Church	65	3
The Seventh Day Adventist Church	22	3
The A. M. E. Zion Mission	22	6
The Salvation Army	4	3
District Education Officers	318	89
Schools directly under management of:		
The Presbyterian Church	549	117
The Methodist Church	602	128
The Roman Catholic Church	850	143
The Anglican Church	150	33
The Order of the Holy Paraclete	1	1
The Evangelical Presbyterian Church	245	43
The Seventh Day Adventist Mission	31	2
The A. M. E. Zion Mission	40	7
The Talim-ul-Islam Ahmadiyya Movement	4	2
The Salvation Army	26	2
Non-Denominational Bodies	5	2
	5,451	1,575

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., Part VI, Section 22.

<sup>35</sup>Ministry of Education Report 1960-62, (Accra: Government Printing Department, 1963), p. 48.



Regarding finance, the Education Act states, "A sum of money shall be provided annually by the government and shall be administered by the Minister for the purposes of public education. . . ." <sup>36</sup> The 1961-1962 expenditure on education was 18.3 per cent of the estimated national income. <sup>37</sup> This amounted to 611,815,170 pounds an increase of 63,721,260 pounds over the previous year. <sup>38</sup>

In 1960, a change was made in the school year. That year, the school term began in September instead of in January as had been usual before. This step was taken to co-ordinate Ghana's school term with that of the University of London whose external examination was written by secondary school students. Also the Seven Year Development Plan, begun in 1960, was marked by the development of the University College of Ghana and Kumasi College of Technology into full fledged autonomous Universities. <sup>39</sup>

Primary and Middle Schools. -- One of the most pressing needs of the country, as viewed by the government, was a sound primary education for every child of school age. As noted previously, fees for primary schooling had been abolished in 1951 and to handle the influx of pupils that resulted, a vast school building program was begun. This

<sup>36</sup> Education Act, Part VII, Section 26.

<sup>37</sup> Draft 1961-62 Estimates, Ministry of Education Social Welfare--unpublished speech given by Hon. A. J. Dowuona Hammond, Minister of Education, Legislative Assembly, Accra.

<sup>38</sup> Annual Estimates for 1961-62, Vol. III, (Accra: Government Printing Department), p. 3.

<sup>39</sup> Ministry of Education Report, 1960-62; this and subsequent information and statistics are taken from this report unless otherwise foot-noted.





expansion had been so great that by 1956 there were 3,312 approved primary schools and the number of middle schools had doubled. An enrolment of 545,000 in these elementary schools taxed facilities greatly.<sup>40</sup>

The expansion of the public primary and middle school system since 1957 is shown in the following tables:

TABLE 11

## PUBLIC PRIMARY SCHOOLS

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
1957	3,372	301,585	154,164	455,749
1958	3,402	299,346	155,707	455,053
1959	3,428	304,812	160,478	465,290
1960	3,452	311,857	166,285	478,142
1960-61	3,552	333,904	186,122	520,026
1961-62	3,451	488,630	252,350	700,980

TABLE 12

## PUBLIC MIDDLE SCHOOLS

	Schools	Boys	Girls	Total
1957	931	88,038	27,793	115,831
1958	1,030	93,215	32,098	125,313
1959	1,118	102,162	37,822	139,984
1960	1,177	105,710	41,809	147,519
1960-61	1,252	111,751	45,932	157,683
1961-62	1,575	124,950	51,030	175,980

<sup>40</sup> Ten Great Years, p. 47.



To aid the financial burden of local authorities who were now, by the Education Act of 1961, responsible for these schools, the government from January, 1962, paid all teachers' salaries. In the Northern and Upper Regions, up to now backward economically and educationally, grants were paid to finance new buildings, to expand existing schools and to supply the students with textbooks and other needs.

It was planned that middle schools would gradually disappear as a link between primary and secondary courses so that future entrance into secondary schools would be possible after a six year primary course. Pupils not going into secondary schools could continue in primary school for a two year continuation course stressing vocation training. Thus a minimum of eight years' schooling, taken in the primary schools, would precede any employment. By this means it was hoped that all school age children would receive an adequate basic education.

Population figures for 1960 show that about one quarter of the total population were in the 6 to 14 age group. Of these, only about forty per cent attended school at that time. The distribution as to regions is shown to be unbalanced. (See Table 13).

To achieve universal primary education, a quarter of a million children would have to be admitted to school each year. This in itself was a formidable challenge, but how to cut down the wastage that was prevalent and so get the educational value for the money expended was an even greater challenge. Table 14 shows the wastage of the 1955 class by the time it got to the sixth year of schooling in 1960. To meet this wastage problem, free textbooks and supplies were supplied to the pupils, but the inability of the parents to supply this part of education





TABLE 13

## REGULAR SCHOOL ATTENDANCE: AGE GROUP 6 - 14

Region	Percentage of Group Attending (March, 1960)		
	Boys	Girls	Total
Western	53.3	28.8	41.3
Accra C. D.	71.3	51.3	60.7
Eastern	60.2	40.1	50.3
Volta	55.9	36.5	46.4
Ashanti	64.0	34.0	49.2
Brong-Ahafo	44.2	18.9	32.0
Northern	15.8	6.6	11.8

TABLE 14

## WASTAGE BETWEEN CLASSES 1 and 6: 1955-60

Primary	Class and Year	Boys	Girls	Total
1	1955	67,884	41,145	109,029
2	1956	47,859	26,696	74,555
3	1957	46,701	24,100	70,801
4	1958	44,008	21,881	65,889
5	1959	40,766	19,678	60,444
6	1960	39,485	18,307	57,792

was not the whole reason for the drop-outs. Co-operation between parents, teachers, and administrators in an effort to keep the children, especially the girls, in school until some permanent value could be derived from the available education offered seemed to be the best way of keeping more children in school longer, thus creating an educated populus. Traditional beliefs and customs as to the girl's place in society presented the greatest resistance to achieving this end.



In 1961, there was formed a Division of Rehabilitation of the Ministry of Social Welfare to take care of the education of handicapped children in order to further extend educational opportunity. A registration of such children in August of 1962 revealed 315 blind, 653 deaf, and 1,056 crippled children of school-going age. By the extension of services of the two existing blind schools 330 pupils could be accommodated; 150 deaf children would be taken care of at the one deaf school then in operation. Crippled children as far as possible were to be integrated into ordinary classrooms. More special schools and teachers were in process of becoming available as building and teacher training programs became more fully operative.

Fundamental Education. -- The Plan for Mass Literacy and Mass Education set up by the Ministry of Education and Social Welfare in 1951 brought about widespread changes at the village level as noted in Chapter II. To sum up the developments in this wide field, it will be helpful to quote again from "Ten Great Years."

The various activities for which the department is responsible include social welfare work, informal mass education, village development and special campaigns for health, agriculture and housing. Technical aid is also given in the form of mechanical units for construction work in self-help village development projects.

These projects, incidentally, range from road and school building to water and sewage schemes and besides being socially useful, pay dividends to the tune of at least thirty per cent of the money expended. Thus, in 1959, 1,222 projects were completed at a total cost of G178,000 pounds.

Other noteworthy achievements include the literacy campaign which has produced over 160,000 literates since 1952, and the development of extension work for other government departments. For example, a joint campaign is at present being carried on in conjunction with the department of agriculture to promote the use of insecticides by cocoa farmers. . . .

It would be a poor kind of progress which cut at the cultural roots of a people, and care has been taken to ensure that the rapid







development of the last ten years in Ghana should not destroy this vital part of the national life.

. . . The people of Ghana have not lost touch with their traditions and festivals, their age-old arts and crafts. The pomp and ceremony associated with chieftancy is all the stronger today because the chiefs themselves have been confirmed in their position as the traditional leaders of their people.

Drumming and dancing, an essential part of the national life, continue to flourish as do carving, pottery, metal work, basket work and the weaving of the multi-coloured kente cloths which the travels of Ghana's ministers have made familiar to many of the capitals of Europe, Asia, America, and Africa.<sup>41</sup>

Another related activity arising directly from the political situation and the needs of the people was the organization of the Young Pioneers in 1960. This is a youth movement distinctly Ghanaian in character, but modelled on the Soviet group of that name. Its avowed purpose was

designed to train the mind, the body and the soul of the youth of Ghana; to train them to be up to their civic responsibilities so as to fulfil their patriotic duties; to train their technical skills according to their talents; to foster the spirit of voluntarism, love, and devotion to the welfare of the Ghana nation; to inculcate into the youth Nkrumaism--ideals of African personality, African unity, world peace, social and economic reconstruction of Ghana and Africa in particular and the world in general.<sup>42</sup>

The need for this youth movement arose because there was a great deal of unemployment because many youths had inadequate education to fill the jobs rapidly becoming available in the expanding economy. The teen-age group affected by this ambivalent situation became alarmingly delinquent. It was felt necessary by the government that this group be used to weld together a strong in-group dedicated to the aims of the

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<sup>41</sup> Ten Great Years, pp. 50-53.

<sup>42</sup> Ministry of Education Report, 1960-62, p. 42.



administration. The organization that resulted has had phenomenal success not only because it was fostered by the government, but also because it appealed to the needs, imagination, and idealism of the youth of the country.

A training school for youth leaders was set up in 1960 and these, as well as voluntary leaders, especially from among the teachers, has given backbone and impetus to the movement. Vocational training courses in tailoring, mechanical and electrical repairing, domestic science, and other useful skills are available to all members. Hobbies in arts and crafts, cultural pursuits, such as drumming, dancing, and drama are also sponsored and have proven to be very popular with the young people.

The members of the groups, both boys and girls, meet in the afternoons, at their various centers. There are three phases to the operations: children between four and seven; eight and sixteen; seventeen and twenty-one. The Workers' Brigade, the oldest group and those most delinquent, do valuable work on roads, community development, and in agriculture on both a voluntary and paid basis. To quote a national magazine:

Thus it aims at not only emphasizing the need for being patriotic and developing one's talents to the full, but also for gearing the outcome of the benefit of society as a whole. . . . Dressed in their uniforms . . . on national occasions, they present a picture of disciplined and patriotic young force full of vitality and great promise.<sup>43</sup>

Each region has an organization made up of branches from all the schools of the region and affiliated with the central organization in Accra which operates from the Ghana Young Pioneers Center, the former

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<sup>43</sup> Ghana Builds - Republic Anniversary Issue - Vol. 1, No. 2, (Accra: Ghana Ministry of Information, July, 1961), p. 5.







Accra Community Center. "With the Ghana Young Pioneers, another dream of the Osagyfo Dr. Nkrumah has become a reality."<sup>44</sup>

These varied extensions into the community do not seem to us a legitimate nor orthodox part of the formal school system. However, in a country such as Ghana, rapidly emerging from tribalism into a modern industrialized economy, they fill a real need. Because they are so closely allied with the stated aims of the politicians to bring education and its benefits to all, these methods of community development are formalized, institutionalized, and promoted by the government as a whole and are under the direct or indirect auspices of the Department of Education. They are thus a means of popularizing and promoting the administration as well as being an accessible method of upgrading the status and dignity of the common man. They thus serve as real, concrete, and readily available methods of promoting the African Personality.

Secondary Education. -- The greatest numbers of the people of any country receive, at best, a practical and rudimentary education. This has, of necessity, to be true in a newly developing country such as Ghana. There, with the advent of compulsory primary education, literary programs for adults, community work, literacy, and training in nationalistic ideals for drop-outs and delinquents, most of the common people were cared for, at least theoretically.

What about those with the need, the desire, and the intelligence

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 5.



to seek more advanced learning? These are the people of any country who provide the leadership in ideas and knowledge so necessary to the advancement of the country and its people. The administration of Ghana, knowing this, formulated plans offering new vistas for these people, too, by the extension in scope, availability and rewards of secondary and higher education.

Secondary education is here taken to be that part of the formal schooling which deals with education beyond the eight years of primary schooling and before the university level. The outer limits of this area of schooling are not always clear because in the flux of educational developments, categories merge somewhat. However, generally, secondary education deals with the colleges (roughly analogous to our high schools), teacher training institutions, and schools for technical training. These schools serve the needs of those students from twelve or fourteen years up to eighteen or twenty plus years.

Academic Education. -- As of January, 1960, there were thirty-nine secondary colleges in the public system, most of which were owned and operated by the various religious groups. In 1962, there were sixty-eight such schools, twenty-four of which were built by the Ghana Educational Trust, a branch of the Cocoa Marketing Board, and so were non-denominational schools. Thirty-nine of these colleges, operated directly by the government, became co-educational, a new type of school for Ghana. The church-sponsored schools were still segregated as to sex. The total expansion since Independence can be seen in the following Table.









patterns of specialization in Form Four. This specialization is continued and deepened in Forms Five and Six. The study of English, Literature, History, Geography, Economics, Languages (Greek, Latin, French, and Vernaculars), Art, Crafts, Drama is carried on in the arts section; Physics, Biology, Chemistry, Mathematics (pure and applied), Mechanics are studied in the science section. After Form Four, a student is required to take only three courses each year and these are in his specialty. This results in concentrated study in depth in one subject area. For example, a student taking science might take Physics and two courses in Mathematics; a student in the arts might choose three languages; e. g. French, Latin, Greek. As the pupils are learning through the medium of a foreign language, English, their lack of facility in this medium is often most marked among the science students because they so early leave off the study of English. English facility is a factor in their success, or lack of it.

An external examination is taken at the end of Form Five. The examination is set and administered by the West African Examination Council and is common to all schools of Western Africa. In the past, this examination had been set and marked in England, and so was oriented toward English courses and standards. Gradually, as courses more relative to the African milieu had been developed, such as African history, geography, zoology, Africans had taken over the testing function. The successful candidates receive a School Certificate at Ordinary Level, commonly called "school cert" or "O-level." This entitles the student to proceed to the two-year university preparatory course of Sixth Form, or to the Technical Institutes or to the Technological University at Kumasi.





About sixty-five per cent of those writing these examinations pass them. The larger, better known, longer established schools are mostly responsible for this average for they have the pick of the students coming into the system and also the pick of the available teachers. The new, government-sponsored, co-educational schools up to now have little status so their success, in terms of pupils passing Form Five examinations, is negligible.

Up to 1960, there were too few schools offering Sixth Form courses to meet the needs of all those who wished to proceed. In 1960, enough schools were up-graded in this respect to take care, for the time being, of all those passing the Ordinary Level (Form V) examinations. At the same time, steps were taken to make secondary school possible for all those capable of so proceeding. Fees, although seldom exorbitant, had been a stumbling block for many promising students. In 1960, a generous system of bursaries and scholarships was made available to all those needing help. Also the government controlled any rise in fees by giving various kinds of help to the administration of the schools, one such aid being the payment of all teachers. By increasing the number of schools, the number of students able to attend them, and the number of Sixth Form classes, it was hoped an increasing number of adequately prepared students would be able to proceed to the universities which would in turn supply the needs for top level administrative and professional positions fast becoming available.

An external examination, the Cambridge Overseas Higher Certificate Examination, had been written by the pupils in Form Six to give entrance to university. In 1960 this Cambridge examination was changed



to University of London examination. In order to do this, the school year had been changed so that the new term would start in September instead of April and examinations were written in June. Also the examination was to be set with the aid of the West African Examination Council but still was to be marked in England. This step was to make possible more African-oriented courses feasible but still have standards remain high. Successful candidates were to be awarded the General Certificate of Education (Advanced Level). This change was some advance over the previous system because now syllabuses could be revised so as to use local flora, fauna, history, and geography, rather than only English ones. However, even with this change, only fifty to sixty per cent of the candidates were successful in passing. Another difficulty arose because the papers, being marked in England, made the results so slow in coming in that the successful students were not able to enter university in September of the year they wrote but had to wait for the following term. This was an awkward situation, and it was hoped it could be remedied in the future as the University of Legon got more firmly established and so able to set its own entrance examinations.

In February, 1962, there were 1,085 teachers in the sixty-eight secondary schools. Of these, 342 were graduates of universities and had training in teaching; 315 were products of teacher-training colleges of various kinds; 277 had university degrees but no teacher training; 151 were pupil-teachers (Sixth Form students usually). University graduates either with or without teacher training were held in great respect, so for fifty-seven per cent of the teachers to be so identified in 1961 was considered a credit to the system. This favorable







instruction situation had been made possible because in the school year 1960-62, Ghana had received forty-nine teachers from the United States and ten from Canada, all of whom were fully qualified and had had extensive experience. These teachers added considerably to the quality of instruction in the schools in which they taught and helped to keep standards high throughout the system.

However, staffing remained a serious problem, especially for science subjects at Sixth Form level. In the humanities, there is now an adequate number of qualified Ghanaians to staff the schools. In the past, science has had little emphasis in the schools so there are few teachers qualified in this area. Therefore, Ghana will have to rely largely on help from other countries to supply this lack until such time as her own people can become scientifically oriented and trained. (This may take many years when the increased numbers seeking secondary schooling is considered.)

There have sprung up, throughout Ghana, various privately owned and operated schools offering courses in business, architecture, and other specialties. Some of these are adequate, but many more are of inferior quality. Students from these schools may, upon payment of a fee, sit for the regular examinations as private candidates. Not many such candidates pass the rigid requirements of either the West African Examination Council nor of the University of London. However, successful or not in these examinations, the pupils from these private schools do receive enough training in their respective fields to find jobs in the ever-increasing industrialization of the country.

Technical Education. -- A great shortage of qualified staff for



technical institutes curtailed planned developments in technical education. To meet this situation, a Technical Teaching Training Center was started in 1960 under a Director and three experts in the field loaned to Ghana by the United Kingdom. Instruction was given in special techniques in teaching Science, Mathematics, Drawing for Carpentry or Engineering, and Craftwork. The first graduating class of nineteen took up teaching in the Technical Institutes in September, 1961.

The number of Technical Institutes was increased to nine, and the one at Tarkwa (in the gold-mining area) was renamed The Tarkwa School of Mines, and emphasis in this institute became almost exclusively concerned with providing recruits for the mining industry. A system of day-release classes--part job and part theory training--as well as evening classes became a feature of all the institutes. This change increased their enrolment and usefulness. The enrolment in all institutes in 1961 was 2,552 of whom 367 were women. The pupils at the end of their training are eligible to write the Overseas Certificate of the City and Guilds of London Institute. Of those who wrote these examinations in 1962, about two-thirds passed.

Secondary technical training was continued at the Government Technical School at Takoradi where the enrolment in 1962 was 310, but the extension of the academic courses to such other schools as proposed by Botsio was not undertaken. Therefore the school at Takoradi was re-organized somewhat and remained the only one of its kind. Sixth Form courses in Mathematics and Physical Sciences were begun in this school in 1960.

The Kumasi College of Technology became a university awarding its own degrees in July, 1961, and was renamed the Kwame Nkrumah





University of Science and Technology. Its work will be considered under Higher Education.

In view of the rapid increase in industrialization and community development of all kinds, the numbers trained to take jobs requiring technical skills is woefully inadequate. Great effort is being expended to improve the status and pay of skilled workers and artisans, and this is gradually relieving the shortage of technicians. Nearly all top engineering and technological posts have to be given to Europeans because so few Ghanaians are available for, or even interested in them. Through propaganda and indoctrination in nationalistic aims and requirements, more interest is being demonstrated in the training being made available. It seems reasonable to expect, then, there will soon be sufficient numbers of adequately trained Ghanaians to man the numerous positions being created by the rapidly expanding industry. As the Volta Dam nears completion, much more opportunity in this field is in prospect.

Higher Education. -- The whole question of higher education came in for considerable review and development after Independence. It was felt by many that the training given and the institutions themselves were not serving the aims nor sustaining the hopes and needs of the country as a whole.

Nkrumah in a speech in 1959 said:

It pains me to say that these institutions (University College and Kumasi College of Technology) are not pulling their weight. The returns we are getting for the money poured into them is most discouraging. . . . Over 90 per cent of the student body is being maintained by Government Scholarships. It costs us more to produce a graduate at Legon than in many other universities abroad. . . . With few exceptions University College is a breeding ground



for unpatriotic and anti-government elements.

But the students are not alone to be blamed. The staff bears a heavy responsibility. . . . We do not intend to sit idly by and see these institutions which are supported by millions of pounds produced out of the sweat and toil of common people continue to be centers of anti-government activities. We want the University College to cease being an alien institution and to take on the character of a Ghanaian University, loyally serving the interests of the nation and the well-being of the people. If reforms do not come from within, we intend to impose them from outside, and no resort to the cry of academic freedom (for academic freedom does not mean irresponsibility) is going to restrain us from seeing that our University is a healthy University devoted to Ghanaian interests.<sup>45</sup>

On the day the Five Year Development Plan was launched in 1959, Nkrumah's speech in part stated:

We should like to see the products of the University College of Ghana and of the Kumasi College of Technology playing an increasingly important role in the development of our country. Upon the shoulders of these students rests the future progress of our dear land and it is our hope that both the staff and the students will avail themselves of the existing facilities in these institutions to prepare themselves for the task ahead--namely the social and economic reconstruction of Ghana. The Government look to lecturers and professors . . . to assist the nation in the successful implementation of the programme which we have outlined in our development plan.<sup>46</sup>

As a result of the dissatisfaction felt as to the functions the Colleges were performing, the Botsio Commission was set up in 1959 to investigate the whole subject of University education. In this regard, Nkrumah stated:

A commission is being appointed to investigate and report upon university education and the government intends that a University of Ghana will be created which will not only reflect African traditions and culture but will also play a constructive part in the programme

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<sup>45</sup>Kwame Nkrumah, I Speak of Freedom, Heineman, London, 1961, p. 167.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 171.





of national awakening and reconstruction.<sup>47</sup>

In case the reader might interpret the foregoing as only political propaganda and coercion, other sources are quoted. Chancellor Williams did extensive research in Ghana, and when speaking of education there, refers to, "They (the universities) have glaring and crippling defects . . . range from woefully inadequate textbooks . . . to the overall British influence, culminating in unbelievable iniquities at the University College."<sup>48</sup>

Kofi Antubam, Ghana's foremost artist, says:

Of all places in my fast growing country, perhaps the one spot at which one expects to be relieved from all traces of distorted and outmoded thinking and action is its institutions of higher learning. Nor could one say with a degree of certainty that our University College, after ten years of its existence, could boast of being free from persistency. Here in Ghana in the glow and heat of the tropical sunshine a humble mind can only find cause to regret when black Africans are made to wear dark blue or flashing red gowns over Kente cloths, or European woollen suits in the name of universality of Universities. . . . One enters any dining hall in the College a bell goes for prayers. . . . It is all done in Latin. . . . Simple hearts could not help feeling sad, learning efforts are being made in the College at Achimota to translate Greek mythology into Twi. Who in the free world of Ghana needs to read Odyssey to be wise in the land rich in Ananse stories? What is happening about the expression of our "African personality"? Have all our trumpet calls about Ghanaian distinctive contributions to world heritage of culture fallen on deaf ears on the Hill of Legon?<sup>49</sup>

Dr. R. H. Sloughton, Retiring Principal of the University College is quoted by Candidus as saying in his retirement speech, "There have been in recent years, very harsh criticisms of the University

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 243.

<sup>48</sup>Chancellor Williams, The Rebirth of African Civilization, (Washington, D. C., Public Affairs Press, 1961), p. 2.

<sup>49</sup>Antubam, p. 215.



College and some of those have not been without justification.<sup>50</sup>

Apter,<sup>51</sup> throughout his treatment of the political developments of 1950-1957, refers repeatedly to "Achimota boys" as being sources of reactionary policy due to believing they, as the intelligentsia, being imbued with British patterns of thought in British institutions, were the ones that should be heirs to the British mantle of authority when the British quit the field in 1957. It is evident from the foregoing sources that the University College was at least infiltrated with neo-colonialist thought. Thus the "Achimota boys" stood to withstand, if not actively frustrate, Nkrumah's stated policy of socialism as a means of the improvement of conditions for the common man and the development of the "African Personality." This unique personality was intended to serve as the symbol of the integration of traditional African culture with increased economic advance.

Antubam, to illustrate how ambivalent the situation was, tells the following story:

An interesting tale is told of an old Ghanaian tribe and their chief. It is said that he maltreated his subjects so badly that they decided to do away with him. But being Ghanaians, they could not take hold of an axe and cut off his head, as their customs forbade them from spilling royal blood. They, therefore, went to solicit the aid of a powerful fetish priest who could bewitch even the gods themselves. He agreed to do the job, but said that he could do nothing until he had seen the man he was to bewitch to death. "You cannot see him until he comes out on our great festival day," the delegates said. And an appointment was fixed for him to attend the festival. He went, the great moment came, and the chief appeared powdered all over with gold. And behold, he was being

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<sup>50</sup>Candidus, "Legon Assumes New Look," The Ghanaian Magazine, September, 1961, p. 19.

<sup>51</sup>Apter is concerned with the transfer of political power from the chiefs and the British to the secular authority of Nkrumah.





borne on the head of the very members of the delegation that went to invite the fetish priest. He looked at them, smiled and said, "You can never even destool the man, he will always rule you." This is the substance of the paradox of Ghana's intellectual plight.<sup>52</sup>

As a result of the Botsio Report,<sup>53</sup> the President proposed to institute certain reforms to combat some of the most glaring difficulties. The salient points the President covers in his reply to the Report of the Commission were:<sup>54</sup>

1. The significant role of the universities was to equip students with an understanding of the contemporary world as it concerned African civilizations, their histories, institutions, and ideas, and to further in students a realization of their responsibilities to use their education for the benefit of the people of Ghana, of Africa, and of the world.
2. A National Council for Higher Education and Research to be formed to co-ordinate and direct higher education and research and to give

<sup>52</sup>Antumbam, p. 216.

<sup>53</sup> Report of the Commission on University Education, Dec. 1960 - Jan. 1961. (Accra: Government Printing Dept., 1961). The Commission was made up of the following members: Chairman Kojo Botsio, M. P. Minister of Agriculture; D. A. Chapman, C.B.E. Headmaster Achimota School; J. D. Bernal, Prof. of Physics, Univ. of London; H. M. Bond, Dean of School of Ed. Univ. of Atlanta; L. A. Barnholdt, Prof. of History, Univ. of Penn.; E. E. Evans Pritchard, Prof. of Social Anthropology, Univ. of Oxford; D. S. Nicol, Univ. College of Sierra Leone; D. Skilbeck, C.B.E. Univ. of London; N. S. Torocheshnikov, Prof. of Inorganic Chemistry Technology, Moscow; K. Nketsia, Ministry of Foreign Affairs; T. L. Hodgskin, Research Fellow, McGill Univ.; D. D. Carmichael, Scholarships Secretary.

<sup>54</sup> The complete text of these changes can be found in Statement by the Government on the Report of the Commission on University Education, December 1960 - January, 1961, Ministry of Information, Government Printing Department, Accra, W.P. No. 5/61.



contemporary African institutions.

11. A University Press to be established.
12. Residential adult education schools to be set up in various regions, Denmark to co-operate in this.

In regard to research in the Institute of African Studies, some concrete evidence of progress is available. In an article in *Drum*, entitled "New Light on Ghanaian Culture," the author quotes Mr. Ivor Wilks, Senior Research Fellow from Oxford, and contributor to the *Journal of Ghana Historical Society*, as follows:

Most of what is in our history books is nonsense. Ward was a member of the staff of Achimota College when he wrote his history, and was more interested in writing a book that would make good Englishmen of those who read it, than good Ghanaians. He did not use even one per cent of the material available in the Dutch and Danish archives and relied on British sources to paint a typically British picture. . . . Claridge was a member of the then Establishment. And wrote a history of the country which supported colonial rule--a view that was in accord with the wishes of the Establishment. . . .

It can be shown, without distorting facts, that there is enough in Ghana history of which its people can be proud. . . .<sup>55</sup>

It is evident from the foregoing that the purpose of the university is seen to be one of pursuing research so that these studies will bolster the African personality and provide the psychological security needed for the integration of values of the old and the new.

In reference to the third University at Cape Coast, the following is revealing:

The primary purpose for establishing the University was to produce graduate teachers in arts and science subjects for secondary

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<sup>55</sup>"New Light on Ghanaian Culture," Drum Magazine, May, 1962, p. 20.





schools, training colleges, and technical institutes. . . . The student body numbers 400 with 23 girls. . . . One striking feature about the students is that they are not bothered with academic gowns typical of the other universities. . . . University College at Cape Coast was also charged with the responsibility of "cutting" a new path and building up characteristics of its own. . . .<sup>56</sup>

In 1962, the two universities, previously only colleges under the sponsorship of the University of London, became autonomous and able to award their own degrees. On the occasion of this event, Nkrumah stated again the aims of the nation and the university as follows:

What has taken other peoples and nations centuries to achieve, we have to carry out in a decade or a generation. . . . It is only by a revolution of the political and social order, complete mental emancipation, and the education of the miseducated, that we can achieve this rapid transformation. . . . The universities are bound to be responsive to the sense of urgency that exists in a developing nation; to use their resources imaginatively and effectively to contribute to the economic and social progress; to interpret their studies for the benefit of the people and learn from their problems.<sup>57</sup>

This view of the purposes of a university is a far cry from the ivory tower that English universities have often been charged with fostering. It would seem evident that the intention is clear that every form and level of educational institution is intended to serve the people directly. In this way the political and economic condition becomes contributory to social advancement and the welfare of the people, especially those that were formerly exploited and deprived. This is also the part the university should play in the system of Co-operative

<sup>56</sup> Ghana Reconstructs, Vol. 4, No. 3, 1964.

<sup>57</sup> Flower of Learning, (Accra: Government Printing Department, 1962).



Democracy as advocated by Williams who says:

. . . a new kind of University with a new kind of mission operating under an original African conception of government as leadership of and inseparable from the people. The Government in the expanded view from Chief and tribal council of elders to nation, is organized national leadership. The national University then becomes an integral part of that leadership; and for the first time in the history of the world, scholarship would be confronted with its greatest challenge. . . . It will be of transcendent importance . . . because mass illiteracy and mass ignorance must be frontally attacked on all age levels. . . .<sup>58</sup>

The expansion of the two universities since 1957 is shown in the following Table:<sup>59</sup>

TABLE 16  
UNIVERSITY EXPANSION

Year	No. Enrolled	No. of Graduates
1957-58	424	58
1958-59	519	77
1959-60	609	138
1960-61	1,183	148
1961-62	1,338	153

The allotment for 1961-62 was 865,000 pounds for the University of Ghana and 632,621 pounds for the University of Science and Technology.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to the large number of Ghanaians studying at their own university, there are a surprising number on scholarships in other countries, even though since 1962, only those are awarded scholarships

<sup>58</sup> Williams, p. 212.

<sup>59</sup> Education Report, 1960-62, p. 33.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., p. 33





who can not get the desired training in Ghana. Those in other countries are: 523 in universities or law schools in United Kingdom (plus 2,370 others in practical training and 100 in nursing schools there); 240 in the United States and Canada; 300 in West and East Germany; 20 in Yugoslavia; 200 in the Soviet Union; and about 50 in technical training in Czechoslovakia.<sup>61</sup>

In addition to the Institute of African Studies before mentioned, the Institute of Public Education was established in 1962 to deal with extra-mural and adult courses and to open up Workers' and Adult Colleges to serve the needs of older persons who wish or need to upgrade their educational level.

Other organizations contributing to the general culture of the country directly and under the Ministry of Education and receiving help, inspiration, and leadership from the universities were the:<sup>62</sup>

1. Institute of Art and Culture. In 1961-62 a grant of 50,000 pounds from the Ministry of Education was distributed to the various organizations under the council. These are: Ghana Society of Artists, Ghana Cultural Society, Ghana Musical Society, Ghana National Entertainment Association, the Drama Studio, Ghana Society of Writers. The expressed purpose of the Institute is the promotion, development, and appreciation of all forms of art and the preservation and encouragement of the art and culture of Ghana.

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<sup>61</sup>Helen Kitchen (ed.), The Educated African, (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962), p. 347.

<sup>62</sup>Education Report, 1960-62, pp. 38-42. These and subsequent figures are taken from this report.



2. Bureau of Ghana Languages. Textbooks in various Ghana languages used in primary and middle schools are prepared by this bureau. Newspapers and other material in the various vernacular languages are prepared as follow-up material for the newly literate.
3. Central Organization and Sport.-- This agency was established to plan and co-ordinate all sporting events of the nation, and to develop the sporting talents and potentialities of young people.
4. Ghana Library Board. There have been established sixteen central libraries and eighteen children's libraries and many mobile units to serve outlying districts. Some 500,000 books are available to serve 54,622 registered readers. A grant of 100,000 pounds was made by the Ministry of Education in 1961-62.
5. Ghana Museum and Monuments Board. This organization, established in 1957, maintains and manages a museum in Accra; preserves, repairs, and restores monuments and relics; issues licenses for excavations; arranges archeological and ethnographical specimens and exhibits; gives lecture series to the general public; restores and maintains the old forts and castles along the coast. These activities have received much popular support; the museum alone attracted 50,000 visitors during 1961-62. The Director of the Museum and three of his assistants are Ghanaians, trained at Legon. The leadership and training of the archeology department of the university is thus being made implicit. Some 45,000 pounds of public funds were made available to this organization in 1961-62.
6. The National Archives of Ghana were established in 1955 and charged with the preservation of all public archives of enduring value.





Records obtained from private individuals, commercial firms, and ecclesiastical bodies now cover some two miles of shelving. Public exhibitions of selected rare documents have been held at various centers in order to make the public aware of the usefulness of the archives as the lifeblood of historical research. A beautiful new building, costing 100,000 pounds, was opened in December, 1962, in Accra. It is open to the public and to researchers. The Search Room, visited in 1962 by 1,700 scholars, politicians, lawyers, and other interested persons, from various parts of Africa and from overseas, is instrumental in awakening interest in African culture. Public funds to the amount of 29,570 pounds was made available to this organization in 1961-62.

It is evident from the foregoing that great effort is being expended to induct people of all levels into the main stream of the new nationalistic enlightenment. Ghanaians, being extremely intelligent and progressive people generally, show a high degree of response to these efforts on their behalf. They take pride and interest in their culture and its institutions but are not so gullible nor naive as to assume that all this is not without political significance.



## CHAPTER IV

### ADISADEL COLLEGE -- A CASE IN POINT

It is a fairly general observation that the aims, extent, results and cultural significance of the educational process as set out by the Education Department of a country are not always those that actually are produced in the classrooms. The foregoing chapters have shown what some of the ideals of the Ghanaian system purport to be. Are they being realized? Only by observing closely over a period of time, and participating in the activities of a school, could one begin to assess the degree of divergence, if any, between the ideal and the real of the education process. Such an evaluation will be the subject of this chapter.

The bases for the judgements made here come from a brief experience of teaching in Ghana and many years of teaching elsewhere. To combine personal observation with a degree of objective appraisal may lead to a more rounded point of view than could be gained by referring to statistical or academic treatises and/or government reports on the subject as has been done in this survey. There is no doubt such an appraisal will be subjective to a degree and will also contain value judgements due to personal bias, convictions, and ethnocentrism. No apology is made for these factors. The best defense against them is the realization of their presence by the reader and his allowance for them, as in no case can bias be avoided entirely. That qualified





observers, such as a teacher observing the educational process, can provide valuable assessments is a generally accepted assumption on which much of our acquired knowledge in the humanities has been and is obtained. With these limitations and strengths in mind, the writer presents the following account of experiences during 1961-62, when she was teaching in Adisadel College at Cape Coast. The first group of teachers was sent out that year by the Canadian government, through its External Affairs Department, to Commonwealth countries to alleviate somewhat the great shortage of trained personnel in education in those countries. This experience made it possible to observe and participate in the educational process in Ghana as it is actually carried on in one secondary school there.

Historical Background. -- Cape Coast, on the Gulf of Guinea, ninety miles west of the capital city, Accra, has been an important center since the earliest European contacts with Africa. It was here that the slave trade first reached great proportions and here the first great forts for trade and protection were built. Cape Coast was the seat of the first colonial government and the setting for the first missions established by the competing religious sects. Here then was a convergence of the three forces to determine the destiny of Ghana and its educational system--trade, government, and church. It is reasonable then that the aim of the early education--that of providing clerks and minor civil servants for trade and state and catechist for the churches--found its most vigorous development here. The first schools of both church and state were established in the Cape Coast area. It has remained the most important educational center of



Ghana. There are now, in the immediate environs of Cape Coast, twenty-two of the sixty-eight secondary schools, of the entire country. Because the people of this area, mostly of the Fanti tribe, have been in close contact with European culture for so long, they have internalized many of its mores and values and have reached a degree of sophistication that would not be found in some parts of Ghana. The schools, being long established and their traditions being generally accepted, are more autonomous and developed than would be found generally. The educational facilities and opportunities are very unevenly distributed throughout the country so it can not be said that Adisadel College is a typical school of the country, but rather that it is a good example of how the English "public" school tradition of educating a small elite of "Christian gentlemen" has been adapted to the African scene. It also illustrates how such a school can adapt to the changed social milieu so as to produce the "African personality" as prescribed by the political forces which, as in all countries, tend to make educational aims those most conducive to its own control and continued power.

Physical Plant of Adisadel College. -- Adisadel College is the modern version of the first Anglican secondary school of Ghana. It was established early in the century in the town itself, but when room was needed for growth, it was moved to its present site, three miles from Cape Coast, and opposite the village of Adisadel from which it gets its present name. It is picturesquely situated on a steep wooded knoll overlooking the lagoon and gulf. The main buildings--chapel, common room, classrooms, headmaster's bungalow, dining hall, several





dormitories, are on the top of the knoll. The staff's bungalows are situated among the trees around the base of the knoll. Other dormitories and the playing fields are on a cleared level area just beyond. The whole complex is known as the "compound." The main buildings are arranged so as to get the greatest benefit from the breeze from the ocean so do not sit in a hollow square formation as is usual with English "public" schools, but they are rather irregularly placed, which seems disorderly at first sight until one realizes the practical reason for the arrangement. In fact nothing seems to run in straight lines in Africa, but rather follows a circular contour to conform to the coastline.

The buildings, as is the case generally throughout the country, are of concrete block construction. As most of them are not painted inside or out, they give a dull, monotonous effect and one has to rely on the flamboyant colors of the profuse flowering shrubs and trees for color and decoration. The classrooms and dormitories are two-storied, but the other buildings are one-story. All are one room wide, have louvered windows and covered balconies along each side so that advantage can be taken of any stray breeze but still be protected from the sun or a sudden rain. The school itself provides all the buildings, including the staff houses, from its funds from the Anglican Church and from fees from the six hundred students. Sometimes the older students or the "old boys" of the town help in the actual construction of the buildings which cuts some of the cost, but workmen's wages are low and the imported cement is high, so the materials are the major expense. Several new buildings have been added in the past few years--



a new biology laboratory, two new dormitories, and several staff houses. It can be seen that the cash investment of the Anglican Church is considerable and forms one of the arguments for continued church involvement in education in Ghana.

Organization, Administration, and Finance. -- The administration of the school is made up of a board of governors who operate under the control of the government and whose policies are carried out by the headmaster. The board is headed by the Anglican bishop of the area, and its members are prominent citizens, mostly "old" boys of the school. There is a beautiful chapel at the school and a resident chaplain. He and the headmaster, also an Anglican, attend meetings of the board to make suggestion, give reports of progress and needs and receive instructions. The financing of the school is done jointly by the grants from the Anglican Church, grants, scholarships, and staff salaries paid by the government, fees from the students, and rents from the staff houses. When new buildings or other facilities are needed, gifts from church members or old students may be received or subscriptions collected from staff, towns-folk or other interested persons.

The government now closely supervises all church operated schools and the School Act, passed in 1960, requires that no child be refused permission to these schools due to religious affiliation. The Act also requires that religious services for all sects represented in the student body be held every Sunday. As a result, three religious groups, other than Anglicans, held services at Adisadel. There is also careful supervision as to number, racial origin, religion, and qualifications of staff hired by the headmaster. The requirements call for fifty





per cent of the staff to be Ghanaian, but as this is not always possible, some leeway is given here until such time as such staff is available. The many, separate, and often conflicting control and authority can lead to complex problems for an English headmaster. Mr. Drury, the headmaster at Adisadel in 1961, felt very beset by conflicting demands on him, so much so that he felt the pressure was too great and so he left Ghana to return to England in 1962. To discourage the British headmasters from continuing is at least part of the reason for government intervention; the schools are being manned with Ghanaian headmasters as fast as possible.

Entrance into secondary school is gained by passing an examination set by the West African Examination Council and marked by secondary school teachers. Those writing are from twelve to fourteen years of age, from Standard II, III, or IV of the Middle School. The candidates can try the examination when they or their teachers feel they are ready and if they do not pass, they have a second chance after another two or three years' schooling. The examination is on Arithmetic, and the ability to write simple paragraphs in the English language. The author was fortunate to be appointed as a marker for these tests in English. It was found that the ability range was quite wide and the paragraphs written were stereotyped as though the children had memorized type paragraphs. Very little originality was shown in those marked, but this is perhaps understandable when one realizes the children are using a foreign language in which instruction is often inadequate. At the time the examination is written, the child states three choices of secondary schools, in order of choice. The headmasters of the various



schools then meet to allot the pupils each will admit. There seemed to be a distinct hierarchy of choice here as most of the boys chose the three schools that rated highest in athletic and academic reputation. This meant that those schools, Achimota, Mfantsipim, Adisadel for boys and Wesley Girls and Holy Child for girls, could pick those students with highest marks and proven athletic prowess. In this way, the standards of the schools concerned could be self-perpetuating.

The schools are all organized according to the English 'public' school which was the model for its African counterpart. There were six forms, or grades as we would call them, Form I the lowest, Form VI, requiring two years, the highest. The 650 boys enrolled, ranged from twelve to sixteen when they entered and were in their twenties often by the time they were graduated. The discipline was on the 'prefect' system with a head prefect for the whole school, a prefect for each house (or dormitory) and each form. Each prefect had assistants and monitors under him. Each dormitory is named and fully organized. A staff member served as housemaster. In all cases this was an English teacher. He lived in a bungalow adjoining the house and supervised the prefect's administration. In the same way there was a form master to oversee the form prefect's work. These staff members and responsible boys organize all house activities from athletic contests to study periods and entertainment. There is keen rivalry between the houses as to inter-house games, marks, and general deportment, and activities. At Adisadel, each house held about eighty boys. The dormitories were bare structures having only a low wooden platform for each boy's bed. There were no pillows nor





mattresses and the boys slept with only a cotton cloth to cover them when it was necessary. Showers and toilets were in separate buildings nearby. Each school has its own uniforms; Adisadel's was blue shirts and shorts for school wear and "whites," either shorts or longs, for dress wear. When all the boys were lined up in their "whites" for some special occasion, they made an impressive sight. On Sundays each boy wore the traditional kente cloth of his tribe. Each boy was responsible for his own laundry and the few extras that were allowed. The whole arrangement was efficient and effective and great loyalty was developed to the house and to the school.

Each day's activities were equally well organized. Assembly in the chapel or hall at seven o'clock consisted of several hymns, scriptural reading, instruction or announcements from the headmaster, and a prayer. The school day was divided into eight periods and lasted from 7:30 to 1:30 with a forty-five minute breakfast break and a twenty minute coffee break. Of the forty periods per week, each teacher taught from twenty to twenty-three periods. The others were used for preparatory work or marking. This rule was informally observed as these periods were utilized for shopping or other personal ventures very often. This was startling but pleasant as the entire school day is scheduled in Canada. But twenty periods per week was found to be the teaching load usual for European teachers for a given teacher's relative prestige was rated by how few periods he was assigned to teach. The class load was from ten to fifteen in laboratory courses in Form VI to twenty-five or thirty in most other classes. Often a teacher was not available for a certain subject, in which case the subject would be



dropped for that term. Classes ended at one-thirty, but after lunch and an enforced rest period, the boys all went to the playing fields for games or contests. At seven they had supervised study for two hours. The whole day was scheduled so that highly structured indoctrination was possible. No doubt this is the key to the "old school tie" tradition of these schools.

Curriculum. -- The curriculum offered was a synthesis of the old literary courses of the English schools of the nineteenth century and newer concepts of meeting the needs of African students. From Forms I through Form IV all pupils took courses in Religious Knowledge, European History, English Literature, English Grammar, Basic Mathematics, French, Latin or Greek, one of the tribal languages, and General Science. In Form V, a choice of specialization is made for either Arts or Science. In Forms V and VI, the branch of learning chosen is studied in depth, only three courses being taken each term. This means a boy, if taking Languages, would probably take French, Latin, and Greek; or if Science, Physics, Mechanics, and Mathematics. These courses are detailed and difficult. The Physics course for the second year of Form VI is as difficult as a first year university course here. Other courses are on a similar level. There were far more students in Arts courses than in Science ones, but the number taking Latin and Greek was about the same as the number taking Physics. Good laboratory facilities existed for Biology, Chemistry, and Physics courses, but some of the equipment, such as lenses, had not been properly cared for because teachers had not always been available.





Therefore there was little continuity of care or use and fungus soon takes over in that humid climate, making the equipment useless. There were courses available in arts and crafts--painting, carving, pottery--but these classes were not especially popular and the master of this department complained that he got only the dullards who could not succeed in academic studies. When sufficient staff was available, a wide variety of courses was offered, but most emphasis was placed by the staff and by the students on academic courses in the Arts section, although efforts were being made to create interest in Science courses so the needs of changing culture and industry could be met.

Texts. -- The text books showed the greatest weakness and a link with past conditions. Theoretically, each teacher was allowed to choose any text he wished to use for his subject. Practically, this was far from true. Except for a beginning in African prepared books for the elementary schools, based on the African environment and written by Africans, all books come from England. All books must be ordered months ahead and kept in stock at the school. This meant, then, that one used the books on hand or waited a year for some of his own choosing. The only course then was to use the text that some predecessor had ordered. Many of these books were early editions, pedantic in style and devoid of diagrams and/or pictures.

The texts for European History in Forms I and II were especially difficult to use. The texts were of an early twentieth century edition, written in a pedantic style. As the boys seemed to find little understanding between cultural norms and social complexities of the periods studied and their own culture, the texts were of little value to



them. The best one could do was to give a paraphrase of each passage, but this helped little because the boys knew little about their own country so it was difficult to relate the known to the unknown for them. As a result, the boys memorized what they were told were important points, or even in some cases, the majority of the text or their notes. This in turn meant one had to be sure to phrase examination questions so that they would trigger recall; most boys had difficulty with questions in which reasoning was needed. The same condition was met with in English Literature. In Forms III and IV, there are "set" or required books to be taken, such as Sense and Sensibility and Pride and Prejudice and several plays by Sheridan and similar authors. Because the boys had no experiences to make English customs and manners of the period understandable to them, all the finer points of the selections were lost to them. They diligently used dictionaries, but even if they chose the correct denotation of key words, they lost all the connotations attached to the passage; some bizarre paraphrases were the result. Here again they had to memorize the notes given them or sample paraphrases and essays given in the syllabus. Until books are produced by Africans, in Africa on African themes, it is not likely this great disadvantage can be overcome.

Staff. -- The year 1961-62 saw a full staff of thirty-eight at Adisadel College. It was of varied racial origin and qualifications. The headmaster, chaplain, all the form masters and half of the rest of the staff were from the United Kingdom, several of them on their first teaching assignment. There was one Indian and two South Africans;





these having been raised in the "public" school tradition could also be considered to be of English orientation. There was one American and we two Canadians, the first time these nationalities had been represented on the staff. The rest, about a third, were Ghanaians, of whom the assistant headmaster was the only one with a degree. The English teachers were graduates of Cambridge or Oxford, but with no teacher training in most cases. There was a distinct hierarchy among the staff, Oxford men heading the list and the American at the bottom, even lower than the Ghanaians, even though he was a capable teacher, a fine person, and had a master's degree from Stanford. We Canadians were a little higher on the prestige scale, being colonials.

The expatriate staff, as the aliens are called, were under contract to the Ghanaian government for a period of three years. Their salaries, passage for themselves, families and household goods, holiday passage, severance pay, and home passage were all paid by Ghana. They were also on a considerably higher pay scale than were the Ghanaian teachers. American teachers are under much the same plan but are on the same scale as the Ghanaians, but with reserves held for them by the U. S. government. Canadian teachers are paid by Canada, Ghana furnishing only housing for them.

Besides the generous pay, not nearly as much as ours, but more than they could make in England, the teachers from the United Kingdom get a paid trip home after ten or twenty months' service, and their children who go to school in England are flown out for Christmas and Easter holidays. All these concessions to expatriate teachers cause resentment among the Ghanaians and are also a great drain on the



government funds. From personal observations and experience, there seems to be another great disadvantage to Ghana in her having to use expatriate staff. This is that one's interests are centered elsewhere than in Ghana. It takes the first four to six months to adjust to the climate, the school, and the culture. By then one is looking forward to and planning his trip home. As a result, there is no real identification with the country or the people and very little continuity of effort and achievement. The whole arrangement exploits the Ghanaians badly, so they will be much better served when they can staff their own schools with their own people.

Extra-Curricular Activities. -- The school forms a comprehensive social unit within which all aspects of the students' lives are provided for and controlled. The formal learning process was taken care of from seven to one-thirty; the rest of the day served more social needs through which the values of English "public" school culture were inculcated. Mention has already been made of the inter-house games and contests which ranged from field hockey to deportment and neatness. Besides this, there were sports demonstrations and competitions between schools; these were run off much as they are here. Adisadel was usually in one of the first three positions in these events, with Achimota and Mfanpsipim the other contenders for honors. Plays were put on by the schools to which neighboring schools were invited. There were several active clubs such as: United Nations, Photography, Red Cross, Choral, such as we have in our schools here. There was an enthusiastic group of Army Cadets who drilled and marched regularly,





but when a Young Pioneers group was attempted, it failed miserably as the ethos of the school was against what was considered to be Marxist tactics. There was a small, barely adequate library which the boys patronized enthusiastically. At times there were demonstrations of drumming and dancing from surrounding schools or towns. Work parties were organized to assist in building a school or some other community development project. Of course, there was the week-long hazing and the initiation ceremonies at which the new students were inducted into the school--"homo's" they were called. Several times a week there was a sing-song, a choir practice or some religious observance in the chapel. A school publication was put out three times a year. At the end of the year, Speech Day--the highlight of the year--gave an opportunity to review the year and issue various honors to worthy prefects, monitors, and prize students. The school project designed to teach the rudiments of practical economics and a respect for honest manual work--a poultry venture--failed miserably and ended by the head master feeding the hens. Apparently the boys had learned that students were "gentlemen" and as such they disdained labor.

Comments. -- The whole little world of the compound was the major influence in the lives of these boys for six or seven of their formative years. It is no wonder they become so well indoctrinated in the conservative, rather specialized attitudes of the English "public" school. They are not confused and distracted by conflicting mores and activities of a complex culture as our high school students are. The products of such a school are highly predictable and homogeneous. It would seem



that the leadership of the country for a number of years would tend to reproduce English institutions and mores with only minor adaptations.

Of the many impressions of this experience in Ghana, the most outstanding ones are of the efficiency of these schools in turning out a pre-conceived, planned product and the rather condescending, "White man's burden" attitude of the English people toward the indigenous people. This attitude results in a stratification of society that is very noticeable not only at the school but in various social situations, such as the European clubs. The school can not be more than the total cultural milieu and power system allows it to be or do. Granting that these little social systems--the residential church school--has many admirable features, it could not be adopted in whole or in part into the Canadian public educational system. It is conceivable that as Ghana becomes more industrialized and heterogeneous, they will not continue there either. At the moment, about ninety-eight per cent of the secondary schools are operated by church groups much the same way as is Adisadel College. It would seem this meets the needs and wishes of most of the influential citizens as most of them have, of course, been educated in the same kind of school.





## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY AND COMMENT

Throughout this study, and especially in Chapter IV, comment and evaluation have been made as to the purpose and effectiveness of the various developments in the national educational system. It remains now only to review these developments and make an assessment of the system as a whole in general terms.

The educational system as it has developed in Ghana shows the interplay of the three original forces which shaped it--the evangelizing missionaries, the foreign traders, and the British administration. The persons representative of these forces were largely indistinguishable to the indigenous people as they were all white and were often associated through performing their specific functions. The traders needed native agents who could read and write and calculate. This the missions taught as their main objective, that of converting and "civilizing" the natives, could not be attained without some form of education. The administration wanted interpreters and clerks. This made plain to the local people the practical value of a literary education which value was again available in the mission schools. Thus the needs of the three sources of power and prestige made clear the advantages of education per se, but the narrowness of their objectives and the limited avenues open for the products of the schools to use their education kept the offerings of the schools narrow in scope, literary in orientation, and limited in distribution.



As time went on, the power of the British administration and of trade eclipsed that of the churches. Then the material advantages of going to school began to outweigh (in the eyes of many of the young people) the spiritual values of the new religion. School came to mean an escape from the heavy responsibility of belonging to the tribe and the family and the grueling labor of the small unproductive farms. Because usually, the missions demanded of their pupils a complete severance from their former "pagan" customs and environment, the inevitable result was a decay in the traditional way of life and its discipline. There was much misunderstanding on the part of the local people, of the European ways they so eagerly copied. Often only a thin veneer of European culture and religion was adopted, but an enthusiastic reproduction of its least desirable elements and tempting glitter became widespread.

At first there was little participation of the British administration in the work of the school. This was because at that time in England it was not considered the part of government to provide education for its people, but rather this was considered to be the function of churches and voluntary agencies. Then, too, for a long time there was no definite commitment of the British parliament to annexing the Gold Coast and its people and when after 1900 they did assume responsibility for it, the relations of the resulting colonial government toward education was supervisory in a general way rather than the control and financing of schools. The colonial government chose to foster the "Indirect Rule" principle as a means of disturbing as little as possible the traditional mores of the people by keeping operative the hierarchy of power of the





tribes. This would make it possible, also, to rule the people with a skeleton body of British administrators.

This policy had several far-reaching results. First, it kept education out of many parts of the country as it was looked on with disfavor by many of the chiefs. Penetration of the new religion and its schools was restricted to a few areas. This gave a very uneven pattern to the cultural change brought about by these two forces. This pattern, somewhat alleviated now but still persistent, has kept educational and economic advantage concentrated along the coast and to some extent in the eastern and central areas but leaving the north, west, and many inaccessible areas practically untouched as yet. Politically and economically this means the divisiveness of tribalism hinders national unity and the illiteracy and backwardness of the people in these areas impede rapid economic development. Because education tends to bring a questioning of the status quo, superstition, and imposed authority, the educated among the people held the chiefs and the tribal customs in little regard. Some among the literate group considered it their right to govern themselves according to the democratic principles that they had learned their colonial rulers stood for in principle.

There early arose, then, competing forces and ideologies which affected the manner in which education developed. The leaders among those educated in the mission schools, and sometimes abroad, tried to widen the curriculum to more nearly serve the needs of the people, to increase numbers of schools and their support by the administration, to gain more voice in the policies of both the administration and the schools.



The traditional tribal faction wanted to maintain the status quo, have little contact with disruptive foreign nations, and keep the young people under the family and tribal discipline. There arose, especially during the 1930's, a third group, composed mostly of partly educated, unemployed and unemployable malcontents. Many of this group became undisciplined, irresponsible rabble. The traditionalists used this group as an example of the corrupting influence of foreign education. This third group formed the nucleus of the protest group that later became vocal when able leadership appeared to mobilize its forces.

The various religious denominations continued their work wherever and however they could. They penetrated further and further into formerly restricted parts of the country; they expanded their facilities as much as their limited funds and personnel allowed; they collaborated with and coerced the administration in order to get more financial support for their schools; they tried to accept and discharge their duty toward their pupils--"the white man's burden"--according to their conception of it. Granted they were sometimes short-sighted, sometimes over-zealous for their own advantage, sometimes so culturally bound to their own ethnocentrism as to be almost blind to the need of real acceptance by them of their scholars, yet to many they were the only source of enlightenment in an otherwise dark world. The schools they established were fashioned after the best schools of England which were dedicated to turning out a true "Christian gentleman."

After the war a quickening of interest in educational opportunity, economic development, and political autonomy became endemic in the





country. This was sparked by the men returning from war service in many parts of the world. For the first time they had had a chance to see how their lot differed from that of many other people; they considered themselves to have been exploited; they demanded redress. Improved economic conditions and a revised, more democratic political orientation in the world and in Britain gave urgency and credence to the needs and wishes of the people of the Gold Coast who now viewed longingly their emergence into the modern culture and technology.

In the 1950's, the rate of change in the Gold Coast quickened. After a brief but effective rebellion, the political protest parties were given representative function in the colonial administration. Gradually after 1951, more and more autonomy was granted until in 1957 complete independence became a reality for the newly-created state which was named Ghana. During the period 1951-57, great development was achieved in education under the Ten-Year Acceleration Plan. Educational policy was now directed toward increasing the facilities, effectiveness, and availability of the much needed and desired education, so that it would become the base upon which a strong and united national state would arise. In order to make this possible, pride in and appreciation of the indigenous culture was to be fostered, thus creating national self-confidence by developing the unique "African personality"--which seemed to be viewed by the leaders of the new state--as a composite of the best features of what other cultures had to offer but distilled in and by "Africanness."

The urgent need for education to meet the needs of a modern state was pressed on all fronts. At the base, free, compulsory elementary



education for all; at the top, university education not only to meet the needs of leadership, professions, and technology, but also to filter down, by way of museums, research into African culture, seminars, adult extra-mural courses, to the whole of the citizenry. The secondary education in grammar schools, teacher training colleges, technical schools would feed the universities, provide technicians for an expanding economy and provide the many needed teachers for the vastly increased number of schools now in operation. To take care of those with little or no formal education there were fundamental education and community development classes and projects in every village. The Young Pioneers--an organization for political indoctrination, basic work experience, and practical learning--would take care of those children not able to get to or stay in schools and practically use some of the leisure time of those that were in school.

It was a comprehensive plan, conceived so as to provide for all. The faith in education as a source of all growth and a remedy for all ills is reminiscent of our own native of an earlier time. Can education be a panacea for all the complexities of a modern society? As the complexity of an industrial state replaces the now comparative simplicity of Ghana's culture, will Ghanaians be forced to recognize the limitations of what formal education can do? They are presently sustained by an enthusiastic striving for a clearly defined goal--a modern state. While the need to attain this is pressing for economic, social, and above all, political reasons, the schools will be able to have a direct effect on, and contribution to its achievement.

The political power structure will have a direct and all-





pervasive effect upon the role of education. The life of any one particular government may be short, but the leaders now available in Ghana are men well-educated in the British tradition of an intellectual elite with the right and responsibility to rule. Such men will continue, probably, to recognize the importance of education in achieving their goals. If the economy can absorb the vast expense to sustain and increase needed facilities a consolidation of the gains now being made will probably result. It would seem reasonable to expect that the first flush of enthusiastic advance will lead to retreats in some areas but also to some reforming of forces for advance in others. The whole culture is now in flux; it will take some time for a new recognizable form to emerge from the eclectic process of selection from old and new, foreign and indigenous, occult and scientific, spurious and real. Ghana seems to be on the right road, headed in the right direction. It is hoped the goals will be achieved.

Some observations, and suggestions for future lines of development may be in order here.

1. Content and methods of teaching -- It would seem advisable that more direct and effective orientation to the indigenous culture and environment could be achieved by a more varied presentation. As of now, field trips, films, projects, and other learning aids are used rarely. Neither is there equipment, facilities, or source material for their use. This could be an area in which attention is directed so that a more meaningful relationship of the concepts taught could be achieved. Some beginnings are being made in this



direction in elementary schools, but there is practically no variety of method in secondary schools.

2. Language -- Because children from many tribes are in any given school or town, there is often communication between them only through the English language. English is the language of trade and of information through books, films, and other media. There is very little literature in the vernacular languages (except the especially prepared material for literacy classes). Therefore, it seems only practical that English remain the language of the schools. If this is so, there should be improved instruction in it at all levels and a better selection in the content of the literature courses in the secondary schools. The "set books" of the syllabuses are too restrictive, too little related in any way to life as the pupils know it. They do not even give a true picture of English life as it is now, as most of the required literature deals with seventeenth and eighteenth century themes, manners, and morals. There is now a small but growing body of African writing that could be used to advantage; post-nineteenth century and contemporary English writers could replace some of the earlier classics; a selection of literature from other parts of the world could be used. These innovations would give variety and needed breadth to the overall liberalizing function of literature. The type of question asked on examinations has made a stereotyped method of teaching the subject almost mandatory. If the aim of literature is to develop appreciative awareness of the writer's purpose and the means by which he pursues his purpose, then the concern of teaching it should be less with what the author





says and more with how he says it; less with knowledge of how to describe and more with ability to discriminate with sensitivity.

3. Texts -- There has been previous mention (Chapter IV) of the crying need for more texts prepared by Africans based on African culture. There has been a start made on this at the elementary level and there is an awareness of the problem by educationists. Only time can give the desired results. Only Africans can adequately interpret the African scene for Africans or know the difficulties they meet in learning a foreign language. Until there is a greater number of more adequately trained teachers and a broadly educated public, there is not likely to be the needed writers. It is to be hoped teachers can be trained to prepare course material that can serve to make the educative process more meaningful to the students. Availability of books of all sorts is a problem at the present time. They come almost exclusively from England, are limited in numbers and subject matter, and are very expensive in terms of income.
4. Teacher training and prestige -- The whole educative process depends, directly and indirectly, on the quality, quantity, and prestige of the teachers. In the effort to produce the quantity needed, often the quality has had to be sacrificed. Because the salary, and so the prestige of the teachers, is very low, it is difficult to attract and retain good quality recruits to the teaching profession. Another difficulty is the necessity to depend, especially in the science fields, on expatriate staff. The disparity in



salary between these teachers and their Ghanaian counterparts is a source of bitterness to the local teachers. The logical starting point at which to improve the whole situation would seem to be to bring the salary of the Ghanaian teacher up to the point where it could compete with the salaries of workers in other professions and in government. More and better qualified teachers could then be produced and so teachers from outside the country would not be needed. This utopian condition does not appear to be near realization in the foreseeable future, but it is one that should attract the interest of planners for teacher supply.

5. Residential Church Schools -- Nearly all of the grammar schools of Ghana are owned and operated by churches and are segregated by sex. In the last five years there has been some experimentation with co-educational national schools but these so far are also residential. So far their status has been low, but if their standards warrant respect, this could change as the people get more used to what seems to them to be a revolutionary idea. If this kind of institution becomes accepted, it could help in democratizing education at this level. Failing this, there should be more residential schools for girls so they could have an equal opportunity with boys. Also needed are day schools so that children are not of necessity isolated from their families and from society in general. Such a move could mean a reduction in capital costs of schools as staff bungalows, dormitories, dining facilities, would not need to be built. Day schools could become a dynamic feature of the whole social milieu. This seems reasonable and right from our cultural point of view.





Whether or not it would suit African culture is another question. It is probable that the present pattern of residential schools will be continued for some time at least. However, as the Africans investigate other than British ways of doing things, they probably will work out some synthesis of several systems.

Ghana's comprehensive program designed to serve all ages, seems to be an effective approach to the attempt to win the race between education and catastrophe. All is not well, and the goal is as yet nowhere in sight, but as the proud and independent Ghanaians re-evaluate their heritage of indigenous culture and the effectiveness of the transposed English institutions upon it, their psychological, moral, and practical needs will lead them to make their own choices in meeting these needs. Ghana now is making good progress in her plunge into the complexities of the atomic age. The balance of power is now shifted from the religious and autocratic orientation of the past to the secular and the democratic. The existing British institutions of education and government are retained but are modified somewhat to meet the changed conditions. It is too soon to assess the long range results or the trends with any accuracy. There is no doubt of the whole-hearted commitment, on the part of the government, to an advance in educational objectives. The people, too, are anxious to promote their own and their country's welfare and realize education is a means to this end. Therefore it would be reasonable to expect a considerable amount of development in education in the near future in Ghana.



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